COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

" After all, however, the truth is, that the threat (the American non-importation act) *cannot* be put in " execution. The thing is impossible; and, when the reader has duly considered what has been said above, " together with what he will find in page 600, Vol. VIII, he will, I am persuaded, be convinced, that our " only danger, at present, with respect to America, is, that, from not well understanding all the matters " connected with the subject, our negociators may be induced to go too far in the way of concession.—— POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. X, page 976.

TO FRIENDS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The mean vindictiveness of many persons, who send me letters for the sole purpose of putting me to expence, has compelled me to form the resolution, to receive, henceforward, no letter, of any description, or from any quarter, (except letters by the Twopenny Post) unless it come *free of postage*. My friends will, I am certain, when they consider the cause, have the goodness to excuse the additional trouble, that I shall thus give them; but, I shall always take care *to pay the postage of my letters to them*. That there should be men so mean and so base as to resort to the sending of anonymous letters for the purpose above-mentioned is shocking to think of; but, such is the fact; and, though, at the General Post Office, I have, when I have made application in such cases, always found a disposition to return me the postage; yet, there is, as it will easily be conceived, no little trouble attending such applications; and, after having tried every other way that I could think of, the one which I have now determined upon, appears to be the only means of protecting myself against this dastardly species of robbery.——My address is, *always*, at No. 5, Panton Square, London. Orders for the Political Register, the Parliamentary Debates, or the Parliamentary History, are addressed to my publisher, Mr. Richard Bagshaw, Brydges Street, Covent Garden, I having nothing at all to do with the retail sale, or the distributing, of either of those works.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES.—In the article, from which my motto is taken, the reasons, upon which the opinion expressed in the motto was founded, were stated at large; and, if it be vanity, I trust it is excuseable vanity, to say that events have proved the soundness of those reasons, and have fully verified that opinion. The congress, it appears, met on the 2nd of December. The President, in his opening message, begins, as will be seen by a reference to that document (which will be found in p. 152 of the present number), by a statement evidently intended to call the immediate attention of the two houses to the subject of the non-importation act, which, observe, was to begin its operation on the fifteenth day of the *preceding* month.——The lower house did not tarry long before they began to do away this foolish act; for, of the proceedings of the 6th of December, we find, in the Washington news-paper, the following report:—

" The report of the bill *for suspending the* " *non-importation act*, was taken into con- " sideration.—Mr. CROWNINSHIELD was of " opinion that it ought not to be suspended " at all Mr. Sloan was of the same opinion, " but was willing that a power to that effect " should be lodged in the president. He " thought if it were suspended by Act of " Congress, the terms of suspension should " not last beyond the month of February.— " Mr. RANDOLPH said, that he had under- " stood the sense of the house to be that the " law should not be suspended so long as " the 30th of June next; he had however " named that day. It now seemed, from " the documents before them, that the con- " duct of G. Britain towards us was more " friendly than at the last session, when it " was stated to be extremely hostile, and " when the Non-importation Law was, " notwithstanding, suspended until the 15th " of Nov. He would, therefore, now move " that the blank should be filled with the " 31st of Dec. next.—Mr. ELLIOT seconded " the motion, and was in favour of an en- " tire repeal. Congress would rise before " the 30th of June. Their session would " constitutionally close on the 3d of March. " The merchants would not know what to " do with their orders; the farmers would " be at a loss to dispose of their produce. " Another nation had invaded us, and we " should not wantonly quarrel with G. Bri- " tain.—Mr BIDWELL was in favour of the " 30th of June, so was Mr. SMILIE, who " thought that the measure had had a salu- " tary effect.—Mr RANDOLPH declared that, " although in the Select Committee he had

" proposed the 30th of June, he was now " clearly convinced, from the subsequent " representations which had been made, " that much commercial embarrassment " would proceed from the period taking " place during the recess of Congress, with- " out any power being vested in the Ad- " ministration to prolong it.—On the motion " being taken for filling the blank with " 'Dec. 31,' there were for it 46; against " it 94. It was then moved and seconded, " that the Bill should be re-committed, in " order to give to the President the right of " suspending the operation of the law. This " motion was lost; the blank was then fill- " ed up with the words 'July 1;' and, on " the 3d reading of the Bill, it passed in the " affirmative; Ayes, 10; Noes, 5."—Thus, then, this terrible act, which had well-nigh scared some of our commercial politicians out of the little sense they had, has blown off again, in a puff, until the 1st of July next; and that, too, observe, without any thing having been conceded, or any thing having been done at all, by us; for, the President had no communication whatever to lay before the House from his ministers, or Commissioners, in England. What will Mr Spankie, the editor of the Morning Chronicle, say to this? Why, I am afraid (for I do not yet despair of *him*), that he will refer to the speech of MR. RANDOLPH, and say, that the act has been suspended, on account of the altered conduct of the government of England. I am afraid, that, forgetting his country's interest and honour, and clinging to the cant of the treasury, he will ascribe this new suspension to the discretion and wisdom of the ministers. But, unluckily for any position of this sort, the act was passed during the last session of Congress, and was then, even in the moment of its passing; even when, as Mr. Randolph says, " Great Britain's conduct was most hostile " towards the American States;" even then, the operation of the act was suspended until the 25th of the then next November, a space of more than six months, and terminating at the time when the Congress would, in all probability, have met again; that is to say, the suspension was to terminate at the very time when it would be in the power of Congress to suspend it a-new; or, in other words, to prevent its operation from exposing those who made it to contempt. But, there were seventeen days between the 15th of November and the 2nd of December, during which this famous *law* was in force; but, *what force* had it? Perhaps twenty ships, laded, in part at least, with the prohibited articles, arrived during those days. Not one of them experienced any delay in landing their cargoes; and the law, like the Parish Bill of our wiseacres, Pitt and his minions, served only to expose the imbecility of its supporters, without having, however, like our law, given any one an hour's vexation, the people of America having compared their wiseacres to Chrononotonthologos, who, in strains of Pitt-like bombast, gives orders that no one shall, in future, debase himself by submitting to the power of the god of sleep.——Such an act *cannot* be executed in America for any length of time. " It was" as I before observed (p. 4 of this volume), " a hasty effusion of vanity and " ignorance. A sort of trick to try us." And, though I am not free from apprehensions upon the subject, I yet hope, that the trick has failed. The questions which have been put to Lord Howick, relating to the treaty now concluded with the Americans, have not, indeed, been answered in a manner that tends to lessen my apprehensions. Yet, I do still hope, that nothing material has been conceded; if there has, eternal execration will be due to all and to every one, who have had act or part in the negociating or the approving of this treaty.——In my article of the 20th December, above referred to, I mentioned, amongst the motives that might induce certain persons to wish government to concede any thing to America, rather than run the risk of a rupture, the possessions which those persons have *in the funds of America*; and, I am sorry to have seen in an American newspaper, that one in this country, now closely *related* to persons in that country, has great possessions in those funds. I had heard of this some years ago; but I was in hopes, that an elevation as unexpected by all the world as it was unmerited by the party elevated, might have wrought some change in his way of thinking, and might have given him confidence in the courage and resources of his own country, to which he is so *dear*. I have heard of others too, and, some of them, persons who have won their riches by the valor of English sailors, resorting to America as a place for depositing their wealth. I have heard of noble-men; aye, and of ancient family too, who have sent their rents, *the fruit of English labour*, to the same *place of safety*. I feared the influence of all this upon the late negociation; and, all that I will add at present, on the subject, is, that I sincerely hope my fears may prove groundless; but, if they should not, if any material part of our best rights shall have been sacrificed, I think, (though I must hold my tongue), that they have been sacrificed from the basest of mo-

tives.——Under the head of "American States," I mentioned, in page 10 of the present volume, the affair of Mr. Burr, late Vice President of the United States, who had been, or was about to be, arrested upon a charge of high treason, having, as was alledged, formed the scheme of separating the Mississippi States from the Atlantic States, and of erecting in the former, a kingly government, of which he intended to be at the head. I there gave it as my opinion, that though Mr. Burr *might* fail, some other man would, 'ere long, succeed in some such scheme. I beg leave to refer the reader to the article of which I am speaking; and, from the following account, taken from the American papers, he will be easily able to estimate the power of the Federal government in the Mississippi States.——"Judge Innis, "(at the Federal court in Kentucky), having taken time to consider the application "of the Attorney of the district, which was "to issue process to enforce the attendance "of Mr. Burr, to answer interrogatories "whether he was engaged in the scheme "ascribed to him, and to enforce the at"tendance of witnesses to give testimony "on the same point, on the 7th or 8th of "Nov. pronounced the decision of the "court, which was, that the court did not "possess the power to grant the motion, "and if they did, that the affidavit was not "sufficient ground for it.——On the mo"tion of the Attorney of the District, the "court then ordered the Grand Jury to be "summoned *instanter*, which was accord"ingly formed during the sitting of the "court. At this point of time Mr. Burr, "attended by his Counsel, appeared in "court. Mr. Burr addressed the court, "and said, that having understood, just as "he was about to leave the State, that cer"tain charges had been preferred against "him, he had come from Lexington for "the purpose of requesting an immediate "investigation might be had.——Mr. Da"veiss, the District Attorney, said, he was "not prepared to go into an immediate in"vestigation before the Grand Jury, and "moved that they should be dismissed until "the Wednesday following to give him an "opportunity, in the mean time, to summon "his witnesses. The court granted the mo"tion. On Wednesday the court met. Of "13 witnesses summoned, 12 appeared. "The only absent witness was a member of "the Legislature of the Indian territory, "then said to be sitting. The Grand Jury "likewise attended.——In this stage of the "business, Mr. DAVEISS, it is said, without "assigning any reason, informed the Court "that he was not prepared to carry the case "before the Grand Jury, and moved their "discharge, which accordingly took place. "*No reasons are assigned for this most ex*"*traordinary course of procedure.* The "state of the *public mind* at Kentucky *was* "*tranquil*, and *not a voice was heard in* "FAVOUR OF SEPARATION."——This clo-sing sentence naturally puts me in mind of the articles, in our ministerial prints, respecting the state of Ireland, upon the eve of a commotion. "The public mind in Kentucky was *tranquil!*" Indeed! What, though Mr. Burr was brought to answer to a motion of the Attorney General, yet the people gave no manifestations, at least, openly, of discontent; and the public mind was tranquil! What an obedient and forbearing public mind this must be! But, this is not all: there was no talk even of a separation from the Federal Government. The assertion does not, indeed, go quite this length. There had been a talk, seemingly; but, "not a "*voice* was heard in *favour* of the separa"tion." That is to say, there was not a man, no, not a single man, who *decidedly* and *openly* declared his wish to commit high treason! What a striking instance of docility! What a convincing proof of the attachment of the Western people to the Federal Government!——This country *must* divide. The separation *must* take place; and, my opinion is, that it will be into *three* parcels of territory, if not more; for, as to New England remaining, for many years, under a government, the seat of which is six hundred miles from Boston, the idea is perfectly absurd.

LLOYD'S FUND.——Lord Howick's observations upon the conduct of the little government at Lloyd's, have produced a battling between the anti-ministerial and the ministerial newspapers, the former being the assailants, and having begun by an attack upon his lordship, so strongly marked by insolence as well as ignorance, that it is next to impossible that it should not have originated with the little impudent government itself. The Courier (the advocate of the Lloyd's men) says, that no fault would have been found of the institution, if the Committee had not given a reward to an officer disliked by the ministers, alluding to Sir Home Popham; and, indeed, the Morning Chronicle (the defender of the ministers) can, I fear, make but little out against this charge. But, as to *me*, be it recollected, that I was opposed to the fund from the beginning; upon principle; and, for reasons stated as clearly as I was able to state them.——The Courier asks, "how the Committee were to *know*,

"that Sir Home Popham had been guilty "of *disobedience of orders*;" and, it is well asked. There can be no answer given to it; and, I, for my part, am delighted to hear the present ministry taunted with the fact, that many of them gave their money, for the purpose of erecting this little government; for establishing this dangerous and hateful combination of unlawful taxers and rulers.—I exhorted the present ministry to put down this impudent confederation. They were all convinced, that the collections in the churches were unlawful, and that every minister of the established church, who permitted those collections, would have been severely punished, if the law of the land had been duly executed. Of this they were all convinced; and, if they had not come into power, they would have brought forward the subject in parliament, and would have charged the late law-officers of the crown with a gross and scandalous neglect of their duty. Now the ministers see the consequence of not having seized on the monster at once. They now see what a formidable rival they have in the affections of the Navy and the Army. They now complain; but, they do not complain with a very good grace. Let us hope, however, that they will have the courage to put an end to the confederation; for, if they do not, it will put an end, not only to their exercising of the powers of the state, but to that power itself.——The argument, that the Lloyd's men, that is to say, the stock-jobbers of London, were not informed, and could not know, that Sir Home Popham had been guilty of disobedience of orders, is very good, is perfectly unanswerable, as towards the ministers, who had been nine months in power without having expressed any dislike of the confederation; and, it is also very good towards the Morning Chronicle, which had never proposed to put the combination down, and which, at one time, even reproved me, in no very gentle language, for expressing my detestation of it; but, as towards me, as towards those who objected to the existence of such a confederation, it is a most excellent argument of attack upon that confederation; for, what must every reasonable man think of leaving the granting of rewards and honours in the hands of a set of persons, who, in justification of themselves against a charge of having misapplied them, plead, as their only defence, an ignorance of the fact of whether they were merited or not? "Ignorant!" yes, to be sure they were. How should they be otherwise? How should they ever know any thing of such matters? They are ignorant of every thing, except the art of working the taxes into their pockets; and how, then, should they know any thing about the bestowing properly of rewards and honours? Their fund was raised from the two-fold source of hypocrisy and unthinking-folly; and, of such largesses, ignorance and factiousness seem to be the most appropriate stewards.——When I complain of the ministers not having, at once, seized the confederation and put an end to it, I wish not to be supposed to charge them with any very great inconsistency, if they do their duty, in this respect, now. They may have thought, though I should not, that it was best to wait for some glaring instance of the mischievous tendency of the confederation. Besides, they have had much to attend to; and, if they do their duty now, no great blame can, as to this matter, be imputed to them. But, if they flinch now, if they now suffer three or four city stock-jobbing votes to restrain their hand, then, indeed, will they fix their characters for ever.——There are some venal scribes, who have thought it likely that they should advance their wages by accusing me, and those who think with me, of a wish to see *confusion* in the country; but, if this were our wish, I must be still more weak than wicked; for, of all the means of creating confusion, of all the combinations that ever were formed for the oversetting of a government, the confederation at Lloyd's is the most likely to succeed. It possesses the grand means of making a formidable opposition to the government, *money*; and it addresses itself to those who, in all commotions, must give the turn to the tide, the *army and the navy*. Its funds now amount to more than a quarter of a million of money; it has upon *its pension list* great numbers of officers, soldiers, and sailors; it grants pensions superior to those coming to persons in similar cases, from the crown; it has no orders to give, no duties to impose, no obedience to exact, all which are thrown upon the government, while the confederation has nothing but the amiable office of rewarding and honouring. The collections made by this confederation were *illegal*. Not only has no body of men in the country a right to raise money, in any manner, for the purpose of seducing the army and navy from their attachment to the king; but, part of these collections, amounting, in all probability, to *a hundred thousand pounds*, were made in direct violation of positive laws. The money, thus raised, is *illegally holden*; and unless the confederation would, upon application made by the Attorney General, immediately give it up, to be disposed of as the king might think fitting, they ought to

prosecuted. I, by the aid of a valuable correspondent, *proved* the illegality of the collections in the churches (see Vol. IX. p. 85, and the following ones); and, so fixed was my resolution to put the matter to the test, that, had the minister, in the parish where I reside, suffered a collection, my resolution was to have indicted him at Winchester. His own wisdom, his knowledge of his duty, his respect for the law, and his contempt of hypocritical cant, prevented this; but, I scruple not to assert, that every collection so made, in the established church of England, was an offence at common law, on the part of the minister who permitted it, and subjected him to the punishment of fine, imprisonment, and the pillory. Yes, DOCTOR IRELAND, vicar of Croydon, who had the modesty to reproach your non-subscribing parishioners with *selfishness*, and who has got, by what means you and I know, *three fat livings* in the church, while hundreds of your brethren are half-starved; yes, the pillory, I say; the pillory! Shake your ears at it as long as you please, I say, it subjected every minister, permitting it, to the punishment of the pillory, and that punishment many of them ought to have suffered.—— There were, amongst the clergy of the church, many honourable exceptions, and, their merit was great in proportion to the weight of the clamour, which the Jewish confederation had, by the means of their circular letters to the magistrates and others (which letters were franked from the General Post-office) contrived to excite against them. But, I can, in no case, admit of the plea of *ignorance* in defence of the clergy. Men that learn *Latin*, and especially *Greek*, can never, surely, be ignorant! Men who possess the "*learned* languages;" men who have spent whole years under black gowns and four-cornered caps, can, surely, never have the face to stand forward upon a plea of ignorance!——The articles written by me, upon the subject of this illegal confederation, are to be found in the four preceding volumes, by referring to the several indexes, under the words FUND AT LLOYD'S and LLOYD'S FUND. These articles trace the confederation from its dawn to the present day; and the motive from which I now print them out, is, that I am satisfied, that an impartial perusal of them will convince every man of sense, who wishes to see the constitution preserved, that this offspring of fraud, selfishness and ambition, on the one hand, and of hypocrisy or folly, on the other hand, ought, without a moment's loss of time, to be put down and annihilated.

BUENOS AYRES.——So! this precious possession, the capture of which has, in all probability, cost England two hundred or three hundred thousand of pounds, is, at last, said to be re-captured, and, with 1,400 of our troops, many of whom will now, if the news be true, have to end their days in a loathsome prison, and, at any rate, will be a loss to their country of a hundred thousand pounds, to say nothing of baggage, stores, &c. &c.; and all this we shall pay, and our countrymen suffer, for the chance of Sir Home Popham and his associates enriching themselves by the *plunder* of a possession, which it was impossible should do this country any good. It is not *after* the rumour of the recapture, observe, that I say this. By a reference to Vol. X. pages 458, 497, and 1006, at the last of which places I took the liberty to comment upon that part of Mr. Canning's *amendment*, wherein that profound statesman expresses his dignified regret, that no mention of the important conquest of Buenos Ayres had found a place in the king's speech; by a reference to these passages, it will be seen, that I always looked upon the capture of the colony in question as *injurious* to this country. I stated my reasons for this opinion, which opinion I still entertain, and, therefore, I shall hear of the recapture with pleasure, thinking that one year's mischief is better than the mischief of two years; but, while I shall rejoice, that my country is delivered from the burden and the oppression and the insolence, which the possession of this colony would have added to what it already endures, I shall lament the fate of the poor men, who will have been sacrificed to the greediness of their commanders, and I also shall lament that these men will be lost to their country, and their country to them, while she has thousands of Hanoverians lodged in her houses and feeding upon her produce.——As to the conduct of those commanders, it is impossible to speak of it in terms too severe: for, though they would have had no merit in case of success, their demerit will be augmented in proportion to the injury which they will have done their country. Their disobedience of orders was a crime, which no success could have done away; but, the crime will be greatly aggravated by the circumstance of its having led to consequences, which will prove that they risked, on the part of their country, so much in committing it.——That Sir Home Popham and Sir David Baird were actuated principally by a *thirst for plunder* I, for my own part, have no doubt. They could, if the report be true, have had no accurate information of the state of the enemy in that part of the world. This is to put the best

construction upon the matter; and, if they had not, what but a thirst for plunder, for parks and palaces, could have led them to the undertaking of such an expedition?—— Now, when we are weighing the conduct of these commanders, must we forget the unparalleled arrogance of Sir Home Popham, in writing circular letters to the traders of London, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other places, taking upon him, like a minister, at the head of the government, to give a direction to the commerce of the country. He has thus, if the report be true, ruined hundreds of men and their families. He thought to secure, by such means, the popular voice on his side. It was an act of daring hostility to the government. It was a thing that hardly a man upon earth, except himself, would have had the effrontery to do. In short, *his* conduct in particular has been so outrageously insolent, as well as mischievous, that it is impossible, one would think, for any man to be found to attempt an excuse of it.— —But, it was said, and I should suppose, with truth, that, along with the intelligence of the capture, the commanders sent home the *valuables* which they had seized there; and, it was said, that Sir Home Popham's banker, Davison, had actually received an immense sum from him. If this be so, shall these commanders be allowed to retain their plunder; this price of their disobedience, and, if the report be correct, of the blood of their sailors and soldiers; of the great injury of their country? If so, the *military* punishment, that may be inflicted on them, will, I imagine, have very little weight in the deterring of others from following their example. No: they should be made to disgorge this plunder, not one dollar of which should remain theirs.——There has been an idea thrown out, that it is unfair to attack them in their *absence*. Their *absence!* What, then, no officer is ever to have his conduct discussed, until he return home! Suppose he *never* return home? Why, then, you are never to find fault with him, to be sure, though he may have caused your armies to be massacred and your fleets to be sunk. This is a new and most comfortable doctrine. You hear, for instance, that a governor is playing the tyrant in a colony; that he is working, in all manner of ways, for its speedy destruction, yet you must not move to have him recalled, because, to make a motion without supporting it with reasons would be absurd; and, to give your reasons would be to attack him in his absence; so that, at this rate, as long as he and the minister can agree, he must remain, and that, too, without even any complaint on the part of the people or their representatives. The Pitts it was who first brought up the fashion of treating with such *excessive candour* all criminals in the service of the public. That set of men had declared open war against the people in all manner of ways. The people's day will surely come; and sorry I am that the *leader* of their spoilers is not alive to see it approach. His *monument*, however, will be at hand!

DAVISON.—This article is a very fit companion to the preceding one. The plunder it will treat of is of a different kind, to be sure, but plunder is plunder, however acquired.——The *third report* of the Military Commission has been made, and printed by order of the House of Commons.——The reader will not have forgotten, that, in volumes IX and X, the affair of the famous DELANCEY, the late Barrack-Master-General, was treated of. We have never yet been informed, that he has paid to the public the immense sums, which, through the means of GREENWOOD, he drew from the public, and did not expend on the public account; and, I am afraid it will be very long before we shall see any of the "faithful Commons" demand an account of what has been actually done in this case.——DAVISON; the renowned Alexander Davison, of St. James's Square, and Pall Mall, banker; the Colonel of the North British Volunteers; the man who was so lately tried for bribery at elections, and who was imprisoned for that offence, but who, almost immediately after his coming out of prison, was made *Treasurer of the Ordnance*, an office that causes between *three* and *four millions* a year of the public money to pass through his hands; the man, who, it was publickly said, was to be made *a Baronet*, at the beginning of the present administration, and whom, were not Sir Francis Burdett a baronet, I should like to have seen put upon that rank; the man, who, when the baronetcy was given up, gave, as the news-papers told us, a grand and splendid entertainment to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Clarence, Earl Moira, Mr. Sheridan, Colonel M'Mahon, and others; this celebrated person was, it appears, from the report above mentioned, the Agent of the Barrack-Office for the supplying of every article for all the Barracks in Great Britain as well as in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, from the commencement of the year 1795. In consequence of a bargain made between him and Delancey, which bargain never was, it appears, submitted to the Lords of the Treasury or any body else, Davison was to receive a commission of two and a half

centum, for supplying the articles of beds, bedding, sheets, blankets, towels, ironmongery, candles, beer, and forage; but, that, as to coals, he was to supply them as a Merchant.——The way in which the public was wronged was two-fold:—FIRST, by Davison following the example of Delancey, *in drawing immense sums of money long before they were expended by him for the public service;* by which means he always had in hand a million, perhaps, or more, of the public money, of the interest of which money the public were deprived by him.—SECONDLY: *the price of the articles furnished.* Upon this head there do not appear to have been any means of detection afforded, as far as relates to the articles furnished on commission: but, with respect to the *coals*, ample means of detection have been found, and the Commissioners have made good use of them. The bargain respecting the coals, was this: Davison was to buy them on his own account, and was to sell them to the Barrack Office, having no one but brother Delancey to examine and check his accounts. He was to supply them at the prices which wholesale dealers sold their coals at, at the several places where the barracks were situated; and, that these prices might be ascertained in a regular way, Davison was to produce certificates that his prices were fair, these certificates being signed by persons of the most respectable description. In the first place, however, he charged as a retailer in point of *measure*, not making the allowance, made by wholesale dealers, of one chaldron in twenty; so that, supposing his prices to have been fair, he thus gained one twentieth part more than a fair wholesale dealer would have gained; and, of this our good friend, brother Delancey, must have been aware.——But, as to the *prices*, a most consolatory scene is opened to our view; a most heart-cheering proof of our taxes being well-managed; a most striking proof of the vigilance and purity of the heaven-born minister, under whose fostering wing so many of these bright geniuses have sprung up from the dung-hill to palaces. Never, the report tells, except in *one single instance*, did the Barrack Master, Delancey, make any inquiry into the character, or the means of knowledge, of the persons, whose names were affixed to Davison's certificates of prices; so that, for any thing brother Delancey knew of the matter, those certificates might be signed by Alexander Davison's footmen, or by some of the members of his volunteer corps.——With such a field of operations before him, so great a commander could be at no loss how to act, and that his actions were uncommonly bold, the following extract from the report will leave little room for doubt.——"In the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, "the certificates were *generally signed* by "a person of the name of George Richard "Walker, a dealer in coals, and who was "*concerned with Mr. Davison, under some "agreement or contract in supplying coals "for the Barracks in Guernsey and the adjacent islands for about four years.* He "was afterwards *Mr. Davison's agent*, for "about two years more, in the same business, at a commission of 2½ per cent. on "an estimated price of the coals delivered. "He was also Mr. Davison's agent in supplying candles during the whole time.—"This person had, therefore, a direct interest in certifying high prices, and he "had also an interest in the quantity delivered in; for, while he acted as Mr. Davison's agent, he received a commission "of 2½ per cent. on an agreed valuation "of 65s. per chaldron on all the coals "measured in the Barracks. It was during "this period that the great increase on "the cargoes sent to these islands appeared.—Now, this Richard George "Walker was CONVICTED OF FORGERY, "AND EXECUTED.—On the 23d of January, "1799, Mr. Hargraves, a coal merchant "Brighton, delivered at the Barracks there, "60 chaldrons of coals, on account of Mr. "Davison, and charges him 46s. per chaldron, and draws a bill for the same, 138l. "at 40 days. The *self same Mr. Hargraves certifies the price on that day to be* "58s. and 2s. for carriage to the Barracks, "making together 60s. and this the public "pays.—Mr. George Leith, of Walmer, "delivered 69 chaldrons, 6 bushels, into the "Barracks, for which he charged 72s. per "chaldron, including all expences. The "certificate, signed by two inhabitants of "Deal, states the price of coals on the same "day to be 90s. and the price of carriage to "be 2s 6d. more, by which Mr. Davison "has a profit of 1l. and 6d. per chaldron, "or about 30 per cent. on the cost price.—"Richard Emmerson and Co. charge Mr. "Davison 45s. per chaldron, and 9s. 6d. "more for carriage, from Dover to Deal, "making together 54s. 6d. The certificate "is, that the price of coals is 3l. per chaldron, and that carriage is 17s. 8d. giving "Mr. Davison a compounded profit of 1l. "3s. 2d. per chaldron, or above 40 per cent. "—Neither Mr. Davison, nor his late Clerk, "to whom he referred the Commissioners, "attempted to explain these two last transactions.—After the execution of George "Richard Walker, the Commissioners ob-

" tained *his ledger*, from which they extract " some of the deliveries, shewing the prices " *paid* by Mr. Davison to Walker, and those " charged by him, and allowed by the Bar- " rack-office, under certificate."— When the reader has gone *twice*, at least, over the foregoing extract, he may proceed to the following comparative view of the difference in the prices which Davison *paid* and those which he *charged* to the government, and which were paid him from the Treasury, under the heaven-born Pitt and his successor Addington; but, let us note here, by the way, that the Commissioners call Davison, " Alexander Davison, *Esq.*" and never less than " Mr. Davison," while they call poor Mr. Walker, the unfortunate dealer and agent and certifier that was hanged, plain *Walker*, just as if he had had not the least spark of gentility in his composition. Let us not participate in this partiality. Let us not be such cowards as to bestow all our reproach upon the poor dead rogue. For my part,

" A knave's a knave to me, in ev'ry state:
" Alike my scorn, if he succeed, or fail,
" Sporus at court, or Japhet in a jail."

The reader will observe, that the following table exhibits what was done upon *one little spot*. But of this, and of the total sum, of which the public has, by such means been defrauded, we will speak hereafter.

Date of Delivery.	*Quantity.*			*Price paid by Davison.*	*Prices charged by Davison to the public, and certified by Walker to be the first prices.*
	GUERNSEY.				
1799.	*Ch.*	*Bus.*	*Bus.*	*per Chaldron.*	
May 22	158	12	or 5,700	55s.	76s. 11d.
June 17	194	16	7,000	55s.	69s. 4d.
	JERSEY.				
January 1	36	12	or 1,318	50s.	92s. 4½d.
February 18	194	16	7,000	86s.	90s. 4½d.
March 18	361	4	13,000	86s.	90s. 4½d.
May 20	97	8	3,500	55s.	74s. 4½d.
June 10	166	24	6,000	55s.	74s. 4½d.
	GUERNSEY.				
July 4	92	3	or 3,315	55s.	68s. 0½d.
August 12	170	0	6,120	65s.	65s. 0½d.
September 16	54	26	1,970	65s.	75s. 7½d.
October 16	105	30	3,810	65s.	75s. 7½d.
November 10	138	32	5,000	65s.	90s. 3d.
——— 18	153	2	5,510	65s.	90s. 3d.
December 6	75	0	2,700	74s.	90s. 3d.
——— 11	104	6	3,750	74s.	90s. 3d.
——— 19	115	10	4,150	74s.	90s. 3d.
——— 23	95	35	3,455	74s.	90s. 3d.
	JERSEY.				
July 20	83	12	or 3,000	55s.	74s. 4½d.
August 6	222	8	8,000	55s.	74s. 4½d.
September 30	388	32	14,000	65s.	74s. 4½d.
——— 17	52	12	1,884	not in W's led.	74s. 4½d.
October 28	166	24	6,000	65s.	90s. 3d.
November 18	225	0	8,100	65s.	90s. 3d.
——— 30	277	9	9,981	74s.	90s. 3d.
December 24	136	0	4,896	74s.	90s. 3d.

Now, I will do what the Commissioners have not done, and that is, state the *average* of the over-charge. I do not know *why* they have not done it. A merchant would have done it; and so, it seems to me, any body would have done, that wished to have rendered the fraud intelligible to the people.——The average of the price *charged to the public*, if I have taken time to calculate correctly (which I am not quite sure of), is, *eighty-one* shillings a chaldron, throwing aside fractions; and the average of the price *paid by Davison*, is, *sixty-one* shillings a chaldron. This is a difference of one quarter part, or of *twenty-five* in the hundred. But, to this must be added the one chaldron in twenty which Davison ought to have given in, as the wholesale dealers do, and which amounts to *five* pounds in the hundred more. This makes a gain of *thirty* pounds in every hundred. Besides which, he was to make the deliveries in the *most*

favourable seasons, instead whereof, he made almost the whole of them *in winter*, when coals were dearest, though he had bought them at the seasons when coals were cheapest, and that, too, observe, with the public money, vast sums of which De Lancey and Pitt suffered him always to keep in his hands. So that, upon the whole, without supposing any frauds in the *quality* and *measure* of the coals, the public paid; we, the people of England paid, out of our property and our labour, at the rate of *a hundred pounds*, for that which, under vigilant and honest ministers, we might have been supplied with at the rate of *sixty pounds!*——The Barrack accounts laid before parliament are so very instructive, that there is no telling precisely how much of our taxes have gone into the hands of this man. These accounts consist of *one word* annually: "BARRACKS;" and then follows a sum of from two to *three millions*. What part of this sum went to Davison I cannot tell; but, I should suppose, not less than *a million a year*, upon an average; and, as he was the supplier for about *nine years*, it is no wonder he possessed the means of bribery at elections and of giving, if the newspapers spoke truth, "grand and splendid entertainments "to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cla-"rence, Lord Moira, Mr. Sheridan and "others." And, yet, we are not to complain! And yet, the base daily press accuses Sir Francis Burdett of a wish to overturn the government, and to destroy all property, because he complains of a waste of the public money; because he inveighs against the "infamous swallowings" of the ministers and their creatures! And yet, the detestable daily press, the property of placemen and peculators, has the audacity to tell us, that we are foolish or factious, because we complain of our burdens, and because we ascribe the pauperism and unparalleled misery of the people to a misapplication of the fruit of their labour, wrung from them by hundreds upon hundreds and thousands upon thousands of tax-gatherers! And yet, we are reproached, and anathematized, because we grudge to make sacrifice upon sacrifice, for the preservation of such a state of things, and Mr. Sheridan, for who[m] Davison voted, and who was the *banker* [of] *his subscription* for the purpose of stifli[ng] the free voice of the people of Westminst[er] has the unfeeling insolence to tell us [th]at, in support of this state of things, [we] are "to sacrifice "even *the necessaries* [of] *life*," in which he is heartily joined by [the] literary mercenaries, John Bowles and [Red]head Yorke!—— Towards the close of the Report there is a fact stated, which serves to throw light upon the dispositions of ministers, in cases where frauds committed upon the public came to their knowledge. We had, indeed, some pretty striking instances of this sort in the affairs of Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Atkins, the two discarded Barrack-Masters of the Isle of Wight. In this Report, a new personage appears, namely, MR. YORKE, Secretary at War, and afterwards Secretary of State, during the ministry of Mr. Addington. The Report says, that "whilst the "commissioners were pursuing their in-"quiry into the mode of the supply of coals "they were made acquainted with a letter "addressed to the Lords of the Treasury, by "a person of the name of Robert Edington, "in which "he accuses Alexander Davi-"son, Esq. and one Walker, and their de-"pendent confederates, as well as Lieut. "Gen. De Lancey, in conniving at the prac-"tices of peculations and frauds in the sup-"ply of coals in the islands of Guernsey, "Jersey, and Alderney, and he has no doubt "but that these peculations will be found to "have existed up to the clear amount of "£150,000." This letter was referred to "the Secretary at War, Mr. Yorke, who "inquired into the allegations, the result of "which he declared in his report not to be "satisfactory to him; for the certificates of "the prices of coals in these islands being "signed at least by one of the persons con-"cerned with Mr. Davison in the supply, "were not proper vouchers in support of "his claims; but he acquits Lieut. Gen. "De Lancey of all connivance. The com-"missioners also inquired into the allega-"tions of Robert Edington, but he shewed "such a want of knowledge of the real state "of the transactions, and he had so untruly "represented many matters, that they "omitted to examine him, and also because "he was himself a party in the forgery of "which George Richard Walker was con-"victed, having been admitted an evidence "for the crown."——Very true. He was not a person of fair fame; but, mark the difference! He was a very good witness *for the Crown* in a case where *the life of a man* was at stake, which life was actually taken away partly upon his evidence; but, in a case where the banker and dinner-giver and treasurer Davison was the accused party, he was not thought worthy *even of examination!* But, in turning to Mr. Yorke, we are not informed *why* "he acquitted De Lancey of "all connivance;" and, I think, it would puzzle him to show, how it was *possible* for De Lancey, supposing him to be in his right senses, not to have *known* of the frauds that

were committed. ' At any rate, however, Mr. Yorke was satisfied that frauds were committed. And what did he and Mr. Addington do in consequence thereof, for the letter was addressed to the Lords of the Treasury also? What did they do? Did they put an end to Davison's contract and agency? No. Did they institute an inquiry into his and De Lancey's conduct? No. They did nothing at all in the matter. Did Pitt do any thing in this way, after he returned to place? No. Not a step was taken by any of them to correct this enormous abuse; and had it not been for the prosecution of Lord Melville, the clue of which was first given by MR. ROBSON, which was afterwards taken up by Lord St. Vincent and the Addingtons with a view of keeping back Pitt, and which was, at last, carried on by the Opposition for the purpose of crushing Pitt and Lord Melville; had it not been for the developement thus made, which compelled Pitt to appoint a Military Commission of Inquiry to prevent the Opposition from moving for such a commission, which, on the very evening that he did it, they were going to do by the mouth of Mr. Grey; had it not been for this wrangling and rancorous contest for place, power, and profit, not a word should we have heard of the conduct of De Lancey and Davison to this day.——That such is the truth no man of truth and honour will attempt to deny; and, yet, shall we patiently hear Sir Francis Burdett accused of factiousness, of seditious, and even of rebellious wishes and views, because he is endeavouring to bring about such a reform in the representation of the people, as would put an end to these shameful abuses, which, if not put an end to, and that effectually and speedily, must and will destroy the kingly government of this country, root and branch? Shall we patiently hear ourselves; we, who sorely feel the lashes of taxation, and are neither rogues enough to lick ourselves whole by participation, nor cowards enough to pine in silence under our sufferings; shall we patiently hear ourselves represented as jacobins and levellers; shall we patiently see the place and pension-pampered host combine against us, and subscribe the fruits of our labour for the purpose of depriving us of the use of the little voice that is left us; shall we patiently see ourselves thus combined against, and stigmatized as low and bloody-minded miscreants, because we complain that " the necessaries " of life" are taken from us for the purpose of increasing the luxuries of the board of such men as the dinner-giving and prince-treating Davison?——" But," some hireling of Whitehall will say, " these abuses, as you " see, are *now* to be put an end to, without " any of the changes that Sir Francis Burdett " would introduce." An *end* to, indeed! What *redress* has the public obtained for the conduct of De Lancey? Has he *paid* the money which he owed to us? Has any member of parliament even *asked* whether he has paid it or not? I will tell you the *redress* we have obtained. It is this, that since his conduct was clearly made known to the ministers, he has had granted him *a pension of upwards of two thousand pounds a year for life!* This is our redress; and, in such cases, from such a source, such redress do I always expect. In the Report before us, why is not the gross sum, which Davison ought to refund, stated; clearly stated, so that the parliament and the people may know the amount of it? And why is there no mode of proceeding against him pointed out? That would be " *indelicate;*" that would be " *illiberal.*" Go to the Police-offices, and there learn what delicacy and liberality is exercised towards the people, when any of *them* are found guilty of frauds. Look back to the *Plymouth Tin-man*, and see how severely a novice in the science of bribery is punished.——Davison may, perhaps, be turned out of his place of Treasurer of the Ordnance. What *redress* will that be to us? *Another* will fill his place; and who shall assure me, that that other will be a cleaner-handed man? The money, due from him to the public, will, I fear, be very long on its way to the Exchequer; and, in short, until I see a House of Commons, without placemen and pensioners, I shall expect to see nothing done for the good of the people; for, until such a change as that take place, the ministry, be they who they may, and do they what they may, will always have a majority to support them; and for the securing of that majority, the " drug," to use the phrase of Excise Walpole, " will always be found " at their shop "——I must confess, that the present ministers, except, perhaps, Mr. Addington, are not chargeable with any neglect, with respect to Davison and De Lancey; and I will do Lord Grenville the justice to say, that I have heard, that he means to compel them to refund to the last farthing. I will also say, that I believe them to be sincerely disposed to save the public money, if they can do it without touching *the system*; but, it is the Pitt system that has brought us into our present situation; that they know as well as I do, and, therefore, the paying of that man's debts out of the fruit of the labour of the nation whom he had ruined and disgraced, is what I never can forgive them for. I would, and I will, give them the lit-

tle support that I am able to give, in all their laudable undertakings, and especially in opposition to the persecuting, the malignant, the greedy, the hypocritical minions of Pitt; but, were it my fate to act in what is called public life, never would I have for an associate, never would I throw my legs under the same table, never would I shake hands with, and call my brother, any one who had conspicuously participated in that outrageous insult to my country. From the moment that that insulting act was committed, I broke off from all those, whom I had before been connected with, who took a leading part therein; and I resolved never again, as long as I lived, to have any connection with them. I live in hopes of yet seeing that grant of money reversed. It is one of the things, which, when the sun-shine of hope breaks in upon me, I, in prospect, though distant, enjoy; and, were I upon my death-bed, taking my last farewell of a son likely to bestir himself in such transactions, connected with my blessing should be a charge never to desist from his exertions till he had wiped from his country that mark of her deepest disgrace.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."——Below will be found two letters, from two correspondents of different sentiments, upon this subject, whereon I touched, as the reader will, probably, recollect, in page 36 of the present volume. The first of these correspondents asks of me an explanation of my propositions, which I still think to be very clearly stated. He puts to me two questions, both of which I answer in the *negative*; for, I know, that many of the Latin and Greek authors were *really* learned men; and I am far from supposing, that their works are never to be read, in their originals, with advantage. But, these opinions are not at all inconsistent with the proposition, to which he refers; for, with this acknowledgement to facilitate his promised undertaking, he will, I am persuaded, find it difficult to show, that, in *general*, the *time spent* in the learning of Latin and Greek, could not be more advantageously employed, and *would* not be more advantageously employed, if those languages were not so generally taught; and, if he should fail in his endeavours to maintain the contrary opinion, I shall, of course, retain mine, "that, "*as a part of general education*, those lan- "guages are *worse* than useless." I did, indeed, flatter myself, that my propositions were too plain in their meaning to require explanation; but, if I have now succeeded in making them so, I shall not grudge the time which it has cost me. I shall hope, however, that I have now nothing to expect from any one, upon this subject, until th regular and finished defence comes.—H er I should have stopped, had not the "late "member of Queen's College, Oxford," who, as the reader will see, dates from *the Temple*, thought proper to question my *seriousness*, in challenging his brethren to the discussion. His contempt of me, as an antagonist, was to be looked for, as a matter of course; but his snips and snaps at wit and point are, also, perfectly in character; but, I must forewarn him not to think me in jest; for, he will find, that, unless my proposition can be over-set, I shall question the justice and the policy of leaving so large a portion of those means, which are so much wanted for the creditable maintenance of our starving parissh priests, to be wasted at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere; and this, I take it, is *no jesting*.——The date, "from *the Temple*," has, in a case like this, no terrors for me; for, though the novices in that profound community are very successful in eating their way to the bar, I am thoroughly persuaded, that, in this dispute, the best of them will do little more than shew his teeth.——Upon looking over the article of my Register, in which the challenge was given, I perceive one phrase which I wish to explain, namely, the "*mummery of monkery*," by which I would, by no means, be understood as expressing my contempt, indiscriminately, either of the monkish institutions, or of the profession, the capacities, or the conduct of the monks. The mummery *only* was an object of my contempt; and, it unfortunately happens, that we have, with respect to the collegiate establishments, been sifting and boulting in such a way, that we have little more than some of the worst of the mummery and its attendant imposture remaining.—— And now, though perfectly serious, let us, with good-natured looks and hearts free from anger, await the result of the discussion.

There are several of the letters from correspondents, contained in the present double Number, to which I would have added some little information of my own; or upon which I would have offered, here and there, a remark, Want of time must be my apology for the omission, which I will endeavour to make up for in my next.

LEARNED LANGUAGES.

SIR,—I am not at this time a member of either of the Universities, or certainly should not stoop to take up the gauntlet which you have thrown down to them; and I feel that an apology is due to the learned body to which I formerly belonged, before I enter

into such a contest.—That the "*languages*," in which all the wisdom of antiquity has been conveyed to us, "*are, as a part of ge-*" *neral education, worse than useless*," seems to me a proposition too monstrous to be treated seriously; nor is it my intention so to treat it. For I am inclined to believe that you were so carried away by your anger about the "UTI POSSIDETIS," as not to be left in the "*actual possession*" of your own senses. It is my wish, however, to ascertain this before I proceed: and you must therefore allow me to deprecate a similar fit of anger, when I beg your attention to the "STATUS ANTE BELLUM:" and I dare say, Sir, that you will agree with me in thinking, that the "*state before war*," is a question which it is more useful to consider at the *commencement*, than at the *termination* of a contest; and that it would have been happy for mankind, if *nations* could, in this respect, have had *us* for an example. —I wish then to know, Sir, what you really mean by the *assertion* which you have so hastily made; I speak of the latter part of it, for I shall not deny that "*languages*" which "*are worse than useless*," are "*improperly* "*called learned.*" But, when you say, that the *languages* of *Greece and Rome* "*are* "*worse than useless*," do you mean that their *writers* were *such fools* as not to deserve our attention? Or, that they can never be *read with advantage* till they are *translated into a modern language*?—When you have had the kindness to inform me to *which of these two opinions* we owe your PROPOSITION, you shall hear from me aga'n. In the mean time, I remain,—Sir, Yours, &c.

A LATE MEMBER OF QUEEN'S COL. OXFORD.

Temple, Jan. 13, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

SIR.——I am far from thinking that any suggestions which I can offer, on the usual topics of your interesting publication, will be either new, or in any manner worthy your particular notice. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear to express my high gratification, on finding from your last sheet, (p. 36,) that it is your intention to expose the ill-founded pretensions of the useless drones, who assume a superiority, in society, on the ground of having spent a certain portion of their years, in dissipation, or in indolence, at Oxford or Cambridge. Judging from the *real* usefulness of these persons, and from the *deference* which they, studiously observe towards each other, while they affect to look with contempt upon other men, we might be led to suspect, that our colleges are designed for purposes, similar to "Free Masonry;" and that no one is to be considered as a brother, who has not been initiated into *their secret*.—It will not, I believe, be disputed that, among all the academicks, the clergy are the most infected with the supercilious arrogance alluded to; which, surely, could not be the case if they *really* believed themselves to be bound to observe the lessons and example of their humble Master.—— Reflecting on this matter, some little time ago, I amused myself by committing to paper a few unconnected thoughts thereon, which I mention, to confirm to you the interest I have entertained in the case; from which, also, you will judge of the pleasure I promise myself, in perusing the treatment of the subject from *your* pen. You do not purpose to begin until Lady Day next. I do not think your challenge will be accepted—unless, perhaps, by some hot-headed, and over-daring youth.—I am, very respectfully, Sir, Your obedient and humble Servant.—

7th January, 1807. J. B.

On the subject of *Hanover*, there can be but one *sincere* opinion, and Lord Grenville, even, must hold it.—That there are *persons*, sufficiently childish in themselves and unjust towards England, to be so mean as to reaccept that fatal gift, from the French conqueror, is not so much to be wondered at (*those persons* being considered), as that *any* minister should insult, as in this instance, the understandings and the feelings of the People of England.

INCOME TAX.

Plymouth Dock, Jan. 15, 1807.

SIR,—I am an old superannuated sailor, and have five children, and have also, thanks to my past labour and prudence, an income of five hundred a year. I was last night lamenting with my neighbour, Dick Dowlas, over the grievances of the times, as we are wont to do. I must tell you, that Dick, having formerly had a little contract for Barrack sheets, is a great stickler for Government, i. e. ministers, but is withal a good friendly fellow. "You growl," says Dick, "at the hardships of the Income Tax; why "don't you claim the abatements that the "legislature, in its wisdom and humanity, "has ordained for the relief of those, who, "like you, have many children to provide "for: I cannot say that I know the extent "of the act in this respect, because, being, "as you know, an old batchelor without "chick or child, it does not particularly "concern me; but, I have not the least "doubt, that you will discover, that a most "liberal and ample latitude is thereby giv-"en, for easing the pressure of which you

" so captiously complain."—Well, Sir, to make short of my story, I sent to my friend Amplify, the lawyer, and borrowed the act, the precious production of our late, ever to be lamented, heaven-born minister. I was, at first, a little taken aback and astounded at the bulk of the volume; but, I turned out early this morning, and with eager hope and expectation set doggedly to work in search of the promised consolation. After about six hours labour, for I found it a more crabbed task, than working the most intricate set of lunar observations,—I do really think, Mr. Cobbett, that I have discovered, and made out, pretty nearly, the meaning of all the consolatory provisions of the act, as far at least, as regards my case. But, Sir, you shall jndge; and, if you please, your readers shall also judge; for I dare say, that, poor souls, many of them, and, perhaps, those whom it most concerns, little know, or even suspect, the happiness in store for them, or the reservations in this most equitable act, in favour of those, who, like myself, are somewhat stiver-cramped, and, who, at the same time, have a numerous crew to victual. I have, as I before told you, five hundred a year, and five children; Now, Sir, in order to be entitled to the exemptions I shall hereafter mention, it seems nothing more is necessary than some few ceremonies, which, however tedious, degrading, and embarrassing they may at first sight appear, will, no doubt, by custom, and a due sense of the important end in view, become reconcileable to minds of suitable pliability.—In the first place, then, if I understand the matter right, I am to begin by paying, as is no doubt reasonable, all that is demanded of me. I am then at liberty to give notice to certain assessors, inspectors, or commissioners, I am not exactly certain which of the tribe, that I intend to claim an abatement for a certain number of children. In due time I shall be called upon by these said commissioners, for a minute and detailed account in writing, of all andevery, even to the most private of my concerns, relating to my income; to which account I am to swear. After I have so sworn, these gentlemen are to sit in judgment, and to deliberate upon the truth or falshood, or probability, of my statement. At some subsequent period I am to be summoned (possibly twice or thrice) to attend these inquisitors, to answer all such questions as they may think it expedient to ask; or how, indeed, otherwise, should they know, was I only to swear to the account, that it is correct? But, Sir, to cut the matter short, for, God knows, if I was to go through a description of the whole process, I should both puzzle the brains and tire the patience of your readers; these said commissioners may, if they are so graciously pleased, and if they can by no means pick a hole in my jacket, I say they may, if they are so disposed, grant me a CERTIFICATE. But then, Sir, the advantages, the benefits, to accrue from this said *certificate*;—talk of troubles, and delays, and vexations, ! Look at the reward? Why, upon my veracity, Sir, I do firmly believe, by only conforming to the little ceremonies I have in part described, that, under the considerate provisions of this blessed act, there is a remote possibility, I wont go so far as to say a chance, that on account of my five children, I may escape by only paying an *eleventh* and a fractional part, instead of a *tenth* of my five hundred a year. In short, Sir, at not very much more trouble, delay, vexation, humiliation, and expence, than a poor bankrupt endures to obtain from a set of obdurate creditors, *his certificate*; I may, perchance, obtain a precious document, which will save me very little short of SIX POUNDS A YEAR!—But, Sir, to be serious; for, on my troth, 'tis not a subject to treat with levity, these tender mercies of the Income Act, remind me of an old story of one of our martyr saints, who, finding his position on the gridiron somewhat uncomfortable, the scoffers around him, told him, if he felt uneasy, to turn to t'other side. J. L. V.

OPPRESSION OF ASSESSED TAXES.

SIR,——In your Political Register of Dec. the 13th, p. 900, you produce a number of inconveniencies which the Assessed Taxes are liable to, but I do not look upon either of the instances you have enumerated as a real hardship, or, indeed, as a grievance, (as the greater part of them, if not all, are optional) compared to what we are made to feel in this district. I am a small freeholder from one hundred and fifty pounds, to two hundred pounds per annum. At the first operation of the act of parliament, imposing a duty upon riding horses, I entered mine, although I had at that time only one horse. Some time afterwards I rented a farm, stocked it with cattle, horses, &c. and ultimately married; and the consequence of that marriage has been a numerous family of small children, to be provided for from my small income, and from the industry of my wife and myself. About eight years ago I was surcharged for a second riding horse, and as I could not swear before the commissioners, but that I might, or some part of my family, have ridden another horse in the course of the preceding twelve months, the

charge was allowed; but I could then, and can still swear, that I did not, nor do keep one horse exclusively for the purpose of riding; every horse I am owner of working in the team, except one, which one draws in the harrows, goes to mill, carries the children to school, and does all the drudgeries of the farm. Well, that charge I have continued to pay ever since. But, now I am going to state to you the hardship I have to complain of, and every other person of my description in this neighbourhood are in the same predicament with myself. About two or three years back we were surcharged for a two pound male servant. Why? because, forsooth, we paid for two riding horses we must pay for a servant to look after those horses. In vain did I urge in my defence, that I had no servant of the description required by the act of parliament; that it was a day labourer that cleaned my mare; that it was a maid servant that cleaned my boots and shoes, and most commonly saddled my mare when my wife or myself had occasion to go from home to market or elsewhere.—The inspector produced his book of cases, but not one of them applied; he then insisted upon substantiating his case under schedule (C) in 43d Geo. III. cap. 161, where it mentions, "That the duties shall "extend to every person who shall be em-"ployed in the capacity of a coachman, "&c. although such person shall have been "retained for the purposes of husbandry, "where the master of such person shall be "chargeable with duty for two or more "horses kept for the purposes of riding"—The inspector told us we might have a case for the opinion of the judges if we thought proper to demand it, and pay for it; but the commissioners advised us to submit, and not to throw away good money after bad. This tax I have ever since paid, amounting at present, including the ten per cent. to eleven pounds per annum, although I have but one horse, that can by any construction of the act of parliament, be called a riding horse. Now, what I wish to learn from one or more of your correspondents, through the channel of your widely extended Register is, whether the same oppression exists elsewhere; and whether the loose schedules of an act of parliament, are to be taken as part of that act, though not mentioned as such in the body of that act by a special enactment.——D.——

Carmarthenshire, Jan. 10, 1807.

MILITARY FORCE.

SIR;——The communication which I sent you respecting the importance of a regular army, and its superiority over every other species of force, has, observe, drawn a reply from one of your correspondents, who signs M. S. You will, I dare say, very readily believe, that I am deeply impressed with the importance of those opinions which I have endeavoured to propagate and enforce, respecting the decisive efficacy of regular troops. It is from a sincere conviction of the truth of those opinions, (a conviction which, the more I reflect on these subjects, the more I extend my inquiries into history, is the more firmly impressed upon my mind) that I am induced to spare time from more pressing avocations to reply to the observations of M. S.—M. S. apprehends, in the first place, from a regular army, danger to our constitution, and in support of this, in my opinion, chimerical apprehension, he brings a passage from De Lolme, and another from Gibbon respecting thelicentiousness of the Prætorian bands. M. S. never attempts, however, to prove any danger will result to our liberties from the maintenance of a standing army; he does not shew in what way it will operate to the destruction of our constitution. He does not tell us, whether a standing army will be converted into an engine of despotism by the sovereign, by the ministers, or by its own generals. Those apprehensions, respecting a standing army, have always appeared to me chimerical in the extreme; and, though I have often heard of those, who, like M. S., "felt an *extraordinary* "dégree of jealousy and suspicion" at the bare mention of a standing army, I never found that they could give a rational or intelligible account of those fears and jealousies. It is not on the authority of a theoretical writer on the constitution of Britain, or on the faith of fanciful analogies which but feebly apply, that M. S. can think to establish his conclusion. He must point out in what possible way, an army officered with men who understand and feel the full value of their civil rights,—an army ultimately connected with the natural aristocracy of the country, could possibly be converted into an instrument of arbitrary power. These dangers, however, arising from a standing army, are not generally felt through the country; they are only discerned by the angry patriot, when his brain is heated by the fumes of party passion.—— With respect to the 2d point, namely, the superior efficacy of a regular army M. S. is, if possible, still more unsatisfactory. I endeavoured to shew that all the great revolutions of which history has preserved any authentic record are to be ascribed to the superiority of a well disciplined army over

militia or volunteers. Now M. S. ought to have shewn that they were brought about by a different cause, and he ought to have explained what that cause was. It is not even sufficient to point out a few widely scattered instances where disciplined troops have been foiled in a contest with troops less experienced. Particular events are liable to be influenced by accidental circumstances; they are the whirls and eddies of history, which do not correctly indicate the direction of the main stream. As long as the leading events of history bear testimony to the superiority of regular troops over every other species of force, as long as the discipline and the regulations of armies are founded on the weakness of human nature, and are indeed obviously adapted to subdue those feelings of dread which the mind naturally feels at the approach of death, as long as I find, that great and experienced generals, when they have commanded raw troops against veterans, uniformly recognising the wide distinction which must always exist between those two different sorts of force, have adopted a system of operations purely defensive, I must still persist in my opinion, respecting the necessity of regular training, and a peculiar process of moral discipline to make a soldier; and, also, that wherever a state possessing only raw troops is attacked by a well disciplined and well commanded army, it is probable, that its independence will be destroyed. I do not, however, say, that the destruction of such a state is certain. A great deal must depend on the commanders of the respective armies. It is difficult to say what an uncommon genius may effect with raw troops in the defence of his country, particularly if the invading army has to force its way through a strong barrier of fortified towns, or to struggle with the difficulties of a naturally inaccessible country. Certain sorts of countries afford peculiar facilities for defence, and it is by confounding the obstacles which a mountainous and rugged country presents to the progress of a well disciplined army, with the resistance which it meets with from the people, that a great deal of error has arisen. When I speak of a regular army and militia or volunteers, I mean to contrast them on equal terms. The natural obstacles which a mountainous country presents to an invader, is quite another subject, and must be reserved for a separate discussion. It is possible also that the commander of a well disciplined army may mismanage it, he may pursue a system of warfare ill adopted to display the peculiar superiority of his troops. Instead of employing his force in enterprizes of desperate and sanguinary hostility, he may allow the war to assume a languid and indecisive character, instead of the most rapid movements and the most adventurous design, he may loiter away his time, and stand wavering before passes, or difficult positions. The general of an invading army, after beating his enemy in the field, ought never to allow him to recover from the consternation of his first victories; he ought never to rest in pursuit of a routed foe. If he allows his enemies to recruit and reanimate their broken and disheartened troops, to secure their strong holds, and to consolidate the physical strength of the country against him, his ruin is certain. It is therefore no answer to tell me, that undisciplined troops (even allowing the fact), have defended a country against troops better disciplined, unless we enquire under what circumstances this has taken place. That a hardy race of Swiss mountaineers may do wonders in defending the passes of a mountainous country, is what I can readily believe, because such a field is very unfavourable to the operations of a regular army. The pursuits of mountaineers are also more favourable to military habits, than the occupations of a commercial population. As to America, the country is so extensive that it always afforded a retreat to the Americans when they were defeated, till by degrees their militia became equal to a standing army. And, besides, is M. S. prepared to say, that the American war was conducted with sufficient vigour? Was that mode of warfare adopted which was best calculated to call into full action the superior excellency of the British force? When the Americans at Rhode Island fled, beaten and disheartened, within their entrenchments; when several individuals were carried by their natural ardour within the American lines; and when the whole army were eager for an assault, would an enterprising general have hesitated? Would the conqueror of Okzacow, of Ismail, or Warsaw, have wavered in such circumstances?——As to the Neapolitan peasantry, under Cardinal Ruffo, I was sensible after I had sent off my communication, that the statement of that fact might mislead those who had not reflected very deeply on the subject. But it proves nothing more, than that an armed peasantry can be eminently useful. At the time that Cardinal Ruffo was so successful, the French were flying before the victorious armies of Russia and Austria; their force throughout Italy was necessarily weakened, and not only in Naples, but in other places, the peasantry rose up and gained advantages over the remnant of the French force, which had beeen left to overawe the country.

To be continued.

OPPRESSION OF ASSESSED TAXES.

SIR,——I can but return you my best thanks, for inserting in your justly celebrated Register, R. W's. letter upon Property Tax Vexations, (p. 50.) What he there advances is of the nature "of those truths we have the advantage of hearing every day." Upon reading it, I remembered an extraordinary fact, that occurred some little time since in the Lackford Hundred, County of Suffolk. As I know you to be a speaker of bold truths, and a patriot of incorruptible practice, I thought you would feel pleasure in being informed of the circumstance, and in return, I beg you to make a few remarks upon it, with your usual energy of thought and language.—In the parish of Newmarket lives a poor widow; the house in which she resides consists of two tenements; the person who occupies the other part has a vine, one branch of which spreads to the tenement of the widow, and she enjoys the fruit of that branch for keeping it in proper pruning, &c. &c. It so happened one day, that her neighbour directed a gardener to prune his branch, and the widow observing that, requested the gardener to prune her's also. —*At the end of a few months this poor widow was furnished with a surcharge for employing a gardener.*—When the day of appeal arrived, she had to travel nine miles at considerable trouble and expense. On her arrival, after informing the commissioners of the fact, she withdrew with the gracious consent of those commissioners to dismiss the surcharge: *the tax for keeping a gardener was however confirmed!*—Tell me, Mr. Cobbett, is this the land of freedom that our forefathers bequeathed to us? You may tell me, that we are improved in science, in the arts, in manners, and in luxury; but I will venture to agree with you, Mr. Cobbett, that our liberties have received fatal stabs in the appointment of such informers as inspectors, and such inquisitors as the commissioners of property.——A. X.——*Jan.* 11, 1807.

VICE SOCIETY.

SIR,——The subject on which I am about to address you is one, that has, for some time, been buried in oblivion. Of dragging it forth to public notice, and holding it up to the detestation it deserves, I have now undertaken the task. In so doing, I feel conscious, that I have the support and good wishes of every friend of his country; with respect to the rest, "I care alike their favour and their hate." Petty tyranny will ever be found to exist, even in the best governed states; but, to this petty tyranny we may, with justice, attribute a great portion of the miseries of a people, and their consequent rebellion. It is not so much the government that excites their indignation, as the oppressive conduct of its agents, which, as it more nearly affects their domestic happiness, the sooner will it rouse the latent sparks of freedom which arbitrary governments *in general* have smothered in their breasts.—Dr. Goldsmith has observed, that a monarchical government is better for the people, than one supported by a democracy. "Since," he says, "it is entailed upon humanity to submit, and some are born to "command, and others to obey, the question is, as there must be tyrants, whether "it is better to have them in the same house "with us, or in the same village, or still "further off in the metropolis. Now, for "my part, as I naturally hate the face of a "tyrant, the farther he is removed from "me, the better pleased am I. The generality of mankind, also, are of my way of "thinking, and have unanimously created "*one* king, whose election at once diminishes the number of tyrants, and puts "tyranny at a greater distance from the "people."—To you, then, Sir, I appeal, to endeavour to subvert that petty tyranny which exists in this country; and which, if not prevented, will undermine the attachment of the people to the king, by the very means adopted to promote it, and at least expose if you cannot prevent

> "*The insolence of office*, and the spurns
> "That patient merit of th' unworthy takes."

—If we revert to history, we shall find an instance in our own country, that, where unlimited license has been given by the government to petty power, the consequences have, ultimately proved most serious. The well-remembered event of the rebellion of Wat Tyler, affords an illustration of my argument, and the petty tyranny exercised by the farmers-general of France contributed, in a great measure, to hasten the catastrophe of the general revolution. But, that an institution similar, in many respects, to the ancient inquisition, which, for so many ages enslaved Rome, and other Roman Catholic countries, should exist, and meet with encouragement in this nation, whose boast it is, that it is neither shackled by the fetters of superstition, nor restricted by the rigour of arbitrary power, is astonishing, and cannot be accounted for by any other means than by attributing it to that unaccountable love of power, which predominates, in a greater or less degree, in every breast.—Let not our

spirits be broken, our thoughts be enchained by men who cannot exact any *legal* right over our inclinations, but who, if we submit, may render this temporary alienation of our liberties an irremoveable and never ending bondage.—I allude, Sir, to the despotic sway the Society for the Suppression of Vice exert over the minds and actions of the lower orders of the people. Every day's experience presents some instance of their severity, with circumstances of additional aggravation: and this body of men, composed merely of parish-officers and tradesmen, who to skreen themselves from its influence, enlist under its banners; without one *gentleman* among them. This synod, give laws, and exercise the most arbitrary power at pleasure. They even publish their *edicts* against those who are hardy enough to brave their resentment; and act, in every respect, like lords of some petty state. Like the inquisition, they too have their *officials* or *informers*, who act as spies on the hapless wight who stands suspected.—I could not forbear smiling at the dictatory style in which they informed the *shop-keepers* (in bills which they had caused to be printed and circulated) that if they continued to serve on the Lord's Day, they should shortly feel the utmost severity of the society's resentment, concluding with a severe malediction on all those who should slight this *their public notice.* Of such instances of tyranny time cannot furnish any precedent; they may at least claim the merit of its being entirely original. But, I would willingly inquire by what right such arbitrary proceedings are authorised, and whether they can quote any law in the British code, that will justify a society composed of private individuals, in arbitrarily oppressing that class of men whose poverty is a sufficient slavery, without subjecting them to such unheard of grievances as these.——They attribute the motives of their conduct to a desire of implanting in the minds of the people a strict sense of morality and their religious duties: but, the means they take to effect this are the most despotic and oppressive, exclusive of the meannesses they have resort to, to acquire a knowledge of the offenders punishable by *their law*; hiring at a weekly salary the most despicable of wretches, common informers, to hunt down their prey, like beagles, into the jaws of their enemies. In excuse for this they say, that, provided the end aimed at be good, the means used to procure it, if they are the most corrupt and despicable, become not only excuseable, but even praise-worthy. This, however, is but a weak axiom, for good can *never spring from evil*; their attributes are so widely different that an union is impossible. Nay, *admitting* the soundness of the argument, what *good* has or will it produce? So far from having wrought the desired effect on the minds of the people, it has produced the direct contrary. They aim at entirely suppressing *wrong*, before they have instructed them in what is *right*; and experience has proved that compulsory doctrines can gain but few real proselytes; for,

"A man convinc'd against his will
"Is of the same opinion still."

It is even so with them. They *suppress vice* without encouraging virtue. True, they may be *driven* to their duty, but they will never adhere to it *voluntarily*. It is a kind of fanaticism which impels them, similar to that which occasioned the broils between the Hugonots of France and the Roman Catholics. Like them they find they cannot convince by oppression and tyranny, and as their nature leads them to adopt a different line of conduct, they lay aside all pacific endeavours and still have recourse to force.—In addressing you, Mr Cobbett, I consider myself as addressing a man who has ever proved himself the friend and champion of the people, one whom party can never influence, and who would zealously defend his country's right *even to his own personal injury*. That you have already done this, experience has convinced me; that you will continue to do it, I have no doubt: therefore, in thus laying before you my thoughts on a subject which has long engrossed my serious attention, I am confident, that you will, with me, see all the future grievances likely to be entailed on this country, by the means of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and endeavour, as far as lay in your power, to prevent them.——I am, &c. JUVENIS.—*Jan.* 12, 1807.

PROSTITUTION SOCIETY.

SIR,——In the Morning Post of this day you will see an advertisement signed by RICHARD LEA, chairman (a very benevolent alderman I have no doubt), and entitled THE LONDON FEMALE PENITENTIARY. The professed object of the institution as held out by this advertisement, is to afford an asylum to women who have deviated from the paths of virtue, and are desirous of leading a reformed life by means of religious instruction,

and industrious habits. The advertisement also contains the following passage. " A *prompt* admission of *applicants* into a temporary ward, will form a very important feature in this institution; at the same time no encouragement is to be given to those who seek an asylum in it more from want than from any virtuous or moral choice."—It is also added, that the necessity of such an institution is demonstrable by indisputable and well attested facts: Now, Sir, I will not take up much of your valuable publication, by endeavouring to shew the absurdity of endeavouring to reform vice, by holding out a direct encouragement to the commission of it: but, I cannot let slip this opportunity of expressing the great regret I feel, that persons of real benevolence should be called on to give their sanction to an institution which holds out an *immediate* asylum to those who having satiated their vicious propensities, and perhaps, held on their full career of wickedness, till they find their course of life not quite so good in experience, as it once was in imagination, they are enabled, by means of some little interest among their *old friends*, or by a sorrowful countenance and *professions* of virtue, to place themselves in as good, or perhaps a better situation, than that from which vice originally tempted them.——But what must be the effect of a public institution like this, on the minds of those whose propensities and fears nearly hang in equilibrium, who are deterred from vice only by the almost certain prospect of the punishment which generally accompanies it; to these, Sir, this institution is a direct encouragement to decide against virtue. Of this description are thousands of the maid servants who live in the metropolis; so necessary is the consequence I have just alluded to, that every benevolent lady who contributes a single guinea to such an institution, is very likely to be the indirect means of prompting her own servant to a course of life which the dread of misery may hitherto have preserved her from. What is true with respect to this class, will be true, in some degree, to all classes of women who supply the town with prostitutes; they will reason thus, " I shall gratify my propensities, I shall perhaps make my fortune by gaining an establishment as a kept mistress,—but, what if I *fail*." Aye, there at present is the barrier! The obvious misery, want, and disease of those wretched beings whom we see in the latter stage of this profession, would till now have been an example to many a giddy girl, who had just reason enough to believe her senses, and still more to those who could reason somewhat distinctly upon the choice; but, now a public institution holds out an immediate asylum to every one, the moment misery brings the reward it deserves.—Sir, what are the indisputable facts that can sanction this institution? How are the managers to judge of the *motives* of the applicants? I have no hesitation in saying, that nothing can sanction a *public institution* holding out objects like the present; there may be many a wretched being, who might be the subject of *private* relief, of the class of those miserable females thus intended to be succoured, (and nobody more sincerely pities them all than I do), but let not the benevolence of the public by performing, what I will admit to be, a direct good, be the source of an evil of ten times greater magnitude.——I am, &c.——R. W.——*Jan.* 13, 1807.

SUGAR.—CORN.—MALT.

Sir,—The observations of X. X. in your last Register, p. 24, respecting the situation of the West India Planters are but too correct; and no one can look at the situation of this respectable class of society, without participating with your correspondent, in feelings of regret for the difficulties under which they labour, in consequence of the measures lately adopted on the Continent by the great enemy of this country.—Without entering into the question of the extent of that relief which they would receive from the measure your correspondent proposes, viz. of allowing the consumption of sugar in breweries and distilleries, I must differ from him, when he says, that this would be attended " with circumstances of considera- " ble advantages to the nation at large, and " *without any circumstances of detriment.*" One, of two modes, must be adopted;—to prohibit the use of corn altogether in the breweries and distilleries, and by those means to throw the whole consumption of those manufactories on sugar; or to allow the use of either article as may best suit the interest of the manufacturer.—It would be perfectly useless to occupy any of your time, or that of your readers, in proving, that the first of the two plans would be eminently injurious to the landed interest, in as much, as it would prevent the consumption of by far the greatest part of the barley grown in this country; there being no other channel of demand for it, except in the feeding of cattle. In the other case, if the use of either corn or sugar be permitted, not a pound of the latter article would be consumed, unless such a part of the duty be taken off, as would occasion a material loss to the revenue. I understand, that, in the distilleries,

where equal quantities of barley and malt are used, it has been ascertained, that $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of sugar, will produce as much spirit as a quarter of such mixture of corn. Take then a quarter of barley at the present price of 44s., and a quarter of malt at the present price of 82s., the average of both will be 63s. the quarter; $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of sugar at the present price of 62s., are 93s.: so that, unless a drawback of the duty on $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of sugar, of 30s. or of 20s. per cwt. be allowed, it will be more for the advantage of the distiller to use corn entirely. In the brewery where *malted corn alone* is used, supposing the same relative value of extract to exist, sugar must be sold at 55s. per cwt., to enable the brewer to use it on the same terms with malt at 82s. But when it is taken into consideration, how much more of saccharine fermentable matter can be obtained from a quarter of malted corn, than from the same quantity of *raw*, and malted in equal mixtures, the brewers cannot give more than 50s. or 52s. per cwt. for sugar to use in their manufactories; so that, in this instance, there must be a reduction in the duty of 10s. or 12s per cwt.—There is also a class of useful and industrious individuals, whose interest would be materially involved should this measure be carried into effect. I mean the malsters; who, it is notorious, at this season of the year, have large quantities of barley in preparation, and which, when manufactured into malt, would be sold at very great loss, should the demand of the breweries and distilleries for that article be considerably lessened. This is a subject I can only hint at: I think, however, that I have proved to your satisfaction, that the use of sugar in the breweries and distilleries would be attended with serious detriment, either to the landed interest, or to the revenues of the country.—I am, &c.

Jan. 8, 1807. Z.

ALIENS IN PUBLIC OFFICES.

Sir,——The daily papers having recently announced the intention of Government, to make some material regulations in regard to Aliens, permit me, through the medium of your Political Register, not only to congratulate my Countrymen on this most indispensable precaution, in times like the present, of peril and dismay, but allow me at the same time to offer a few observations, on a subject collaterally connected with this serious object of prudence in the executive Government; demanding, in my view of the case, the most severe animadversion on its duration, and consequently, calling loudly for immediate reform: I allude to the prevailing practice of employing *Foreigners* in the different offices of the government. This custom Sir, which has obtained but of late years, appears in my mind fraught with many serious dangers to the state, and unanswerable objections in other respects. I shall, however, on the present occasion, select only the two most prominent, the cruelty, impolicy, and injustice, at *any period* and on *any occasion* of prefering Aliens to the native youth of the United Kingdom; and the extreme danger *at all times, but more particularly in time of warfare,* in trusting Aliens with employments under government.—In regard to the first point, I will take leave to ask, upon what principle the preference of foreigners in public departments can be defended? Will it be contended that our native youths are less competent for the duties to be performed? I trust not! Can it be urged that their natural ability and education do not fit them so well for the public civil employments as Aliens? Surely not! How, then, can it be accounted for, that go when you will into a public office, you are sure to be addressed in *broken-English* by clerks of every rank, by office keepers, and by messengers? Indeed, so general are the two latter descriptions, that I have frequently found it difficult to render myself intellegible, to those *worn out Alien Domestics* of *Lords, Ladies*, and *Diplomatic Gentlemen*.—Now, Sir, I think I may venture fairly to infer, that for every Alien so appointed to a public office in this country, *one* of our own countrymen has been thereby deprived of an opportunity to render himself a useful, an honorable, and a happy, member in society; equal in point of capacity and education to the prefered Foreigner, and inferior to him only perhaps, in art, intrigue, and condescension.—Then, is it not cruel, impolitic, and unjust, to establish a system so decidely subversive of the natural and imprescriptable rights of our countrymen, and does not such a system call loudly for reform? Particularly, when, lamentable to state, the evil is daily encreasing.—Thus much for the cruelty, impolicy, and injustice of resorting to foreign aid, where native ability is fully competent. But look, I beseech you, to the next objection: the danger is incalculable in time of war. Is it not well known to every man who takes the trouble to think, that Napoleon has gained more conquests by intrigue, and the organization of spies, than by the fair and manly contention between army and army? Is it not as well known that, his victories have generally been arranged at Paris, with his *Arch-fiend and Counseller Talleyrand?* And how are these things accomplished?

But through the agency of spies, and previous understanding between the victors, and the predisposed victims! I beg, Sir, to be perfectly understood in the observations I now make—Far be it from me to insinuate that any Alien clerk now employed under government, could be infamous enough to betray this country into the hands of the great *Leviathan of the Continent*; I object not to the men, but to the measure, and the more I think of it, the more am I convinced of its impolicy and danger.—— No doubt, many, perhaps all, the persons I allude to may be honorable characters, but this does not lessen the effect of my complaint; nor would it be any consolation to me, if *one* Alien acted treacherously and ruined my country, that *ninety and nine* were to be found, too just and honorable to partake in his diabolical schemes.——It may be argued, that all the people I have mentioned are placed in situations too inferior for the danger I apprehend; I answer, that more or less, every clerk is in the confidence of government, and not one Alien so employed, but possesses the *power*, if he feels the *inclination*, to do this country material injury.——I contend therefore, that, the employment of such people *has proved* inimical to the interests of our countrymen, and *may prove* hostile to the well being of this country, nay, may prove its destruction.——I am not weak or base enough to recommend, that the Emigrant or Alien should be driven from our hospitable shores, but I consider it essential to the very existence of the nation, that, they should be scrupulously, and constantly watched: they ever have been, and ever will be, doubtful characters, nor can I see any good reason why Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Swiss, &c. should be employed in our *Public Offices*, and thereby brought more intimately to our connections, merely because it has pleased Messrs. Buonaparté, Benevento, and Co. to drive them from their homes to take refuge among us!—I know full well that I risk the charge of inhumanity and illiberality in the opinions I have broached. 'Tis true that benevolence and generosity, designate the character of Britons; they are God-like virtues when properly applied, but like other virtues, the excess of them borders on their opposite vices. The excess of benevolence, therefore, or rather a mistaken, or misapplied philantrophy, may be the destruction of the country ——We take to our arms without consideration or reserve, unfortunate men of all nations. These people contrive to get into our good opinion by their easy and gentlemanly address; their misfortunes, and a pleasing exterior win our hearts; we commiserate, we relieve, we protect them. If we paused here, perhaps little fear might be entertained of danger to the state; individuals might and would suffer, but the country would not have to dread the consequences of perfidy in those, who, say what you will, must ever feel a predilection for their native land, and consequently, will be always alive to that which is likely to promote its interests. —Really, Sir, this seems to me a very serious subject, perhaps more so than may at first appear. No doubt, this letter, if it does no more, will rouse *you* to a consideration of the fact. In your hands, and with your language and argument, the legislature may be disposed to make enquiry; the result *must* prove advantageous to the country, and cannot fail to reward the labours of—

A British Merchant.

London, 8th January, 1807.

RETALIATION AGAINST FRANCE.

Sir,—Although disagreeing materially in many political points with yourself, yet I confess, I believe you are actuated by love of your country, and I admire your candour and the perspicuity and clearness with which you inforce your premises and draw your conclusions; and, through your paper, I wish to submit a few lines to the public on our present situation with respect to France, as it operates on our shipping, colonial and commercial system. Buonaparte having taken the most efficient method of distressing the trade of this country, by seizing on the ports of the North Sea, and meditating, as he assuredly does, the shutting up of the Sound, it behoves the ministry to counteract, as far as possible, the injury we may sustain, by acting with energy and by preventing France receiving from her own colonies, either direct, or through the medium of neutrals, any articles of colonial produce: so that her inhabitants and vassels shall be obliged to have recourse to Great Britain for supplies, and which will bear more heavily on them, as they will be introduced by surreptitious means, by her own subjects, at their own risk, and with the additional charge of forced introduction added to their original price.—The first necessary step to bring about this desirable end would be an immediate and vigorous attack on the colony of Martinico,—the only strong hold possessed by France in the western hemisphere, and from whence the enormous quantity of 80,000 hogsheads of sugar, five millions of pounds of coffee, besides large quantities of cocoa and cotton, are annually shipped to France through the channel of American shipping, protected by false and colourable

documents of ownery. Independent of the benefit to be derived to our revenue by this capture, it is of most material consequence in other points of view. It was only through the quiet possession of Martinico, that France was able to send out the Rochefort squadron, which destroyed the town of Dominico, plundered Montserat, Nevis, and St. Kitts, burnt the merchant shipping at all those places, detained the large convoy for many months in the West Indies, to the great loss of the Merchant, Planter, and Ship-owner, and caused the mortality of an immense number of British seamen cooped up in the unhealthy harbour of Grenada. —It was to the possession of this colony, France dared to send out the armament under Villeneuve, which retook the Diamond Rock, destroyed the Antigua convoy valuably laden, and would have ravaged the whole of our islands but for the dreadful name of Nelson.—It was to the possession of this island that the fleet under Guillaumais and Jerome Buonaparte owed their safety and their re-equipment, and which cost Great Britain the service of three squadrons of eighteen sail of the line, under Warren, Strachan, and Cockrane, for nearly five months; and the armament, recently captured by Sir Samuel Hood, was bound to this island, and, but for the vigilence of that officer, we should have read very shortly of other disasters in that part of the werld.— The next step to be acted upon with determination, giving fair and proper caution to the remaining neutral powers, would be a strict blockade of every port from the Baltic to the Adriatic. France, by these steps, would very soon be convinced of the impotence of her military system or navigation, and we should draw from her concessions arising from imperious necessity. America, with all her hatred of Britain, must be convinced that Buonaparte only wants naval power to reduce her to slavery, and her government would hardly complain of this act of necessity. At all events, better for us that America should be our open enemy, than the insidious and unopposed friend of France.—I will not enlarge for the present. If my communications are worth printing you will notice them, if not, I am yours, &c.

ANTI-NAPOLEON.

London, 7th January, 1807.

PITT'S GLORY.

Long was the reign, and great was the power and the insolent domination of Pitt; but, it was about the years 1794, 5, and 6, that he was at the height of his *glory*. The terror of the times; the dread of a revolution, had broken the phalanx of his parliamentary opponents and of their followers out of doors; he had set one half of the nation to be spies upon and to keep down the other half; in short, his absolute will was the only law.—— In turning my attention back to those days, a correspondent favoured me with the originals of the following letters, which passed between MR. WADDINGTON, whom an English judge, at the commencement of the 19th century, imprisoned for *forestalling*. The letters are truly curious; and Mr. Waddington's is an admirable specimen of sarcastic repartee.

DEAR SIR, *Southwark, 21 Nov. 1795.*

I have seen with very great concern your name affixed to certain advertisements in the public papers, in direct opposition to the steps which government think necessary to be adopted, to preserve the peace of the metropolis, and of the country at large, against the machinations of designing, artful, and disaffected men, who seem to have in view the total overthrow of our glorious constitution. And, as it appears to me, that your being the champion of these people is totally incompatible with your continuing any longer a member of a corps of volunteer cavalry, who have avowedly stood forward in the defence of their king and constitution, I must beg the favor of you to have the goodness to return to me the arms and accoutrements which you received from me as your commanding officer. I am much hurt in being obliged to take this step; but you will, I trust, readily perceive, that the honour of the Southwark Troop demands it.—I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

E. J. COLLETT, Capt. S. T. S. Y. C.

S. T. Waddington, Esq.

THE ANSWER.

SIR, *New Bridge Street, 23 Nov. 1795.*

The same *principle* which induced me to enroll myself in the Honourable Surrey Corps, to defend my country against a threatened foreign invasion, has equally impelled me to stand forward in its defence, against a domestic invasion of the *constitution itself*.——As the "honor of the Southwark Troop," and the existence of the British Constitution are incompatible (as from your letter it should seem they were) it is with mortification I comply with your requisition, in returning the *cloak* and *cartouch box* (and a *halter*; which I had almost forgotten), being the only "arms and accoutrements," which I received from you, as my commanding officer.—I am, &c.

S. F. WADDINGTON.

E. Collett, J. Esq. Capt. S. T. S. Y. C.

AGE OF FINANCE.

SIR,—The last century may not improperly be termed the Age of Finance. Europe was immersed in manufactures, commerce, and revenue. The fundamental principles of government, of civil society, and of national force compose, in comparison, but a small part of the annals of that time. The numerous wars of that period, with very few exceptions, were wars of the Exchequer; while money was easily found nations continued their quarrels; when that began to fail, peace was concluded. So completely had those objects absorbed the general attention that, in the first wars of the French revolution, when its newborn force was forming and acquiring consistency, it was maintained by our administration, apparently with the public assent, that they were wars of finance: they demonstrated to their applauding adherents, with mathematical certainty and accuracy, the very moment when, at the rate they were going, the French would fall into the Charybdis that was to swallow them up, and relieve Europe from the terror of the political effects of the revolution; for an idea never seemed to have occurred to them that an age of steel was to return. Yet, I do not know that there ever was an instance of a nation being ruined by its debts: even in Holland, the nation was worn out before its finances; nor do I know that any nation ever professed that it would allow itself to be ruined by them except England at this very time. Heretofore, wherever men determined to defend their coutry have been found, when they could not untie they have cut the Gordion knot. But, though the finances rank in the scale of importance far below civil, political, or military institutions, and even below several branches of national industry, yet, from the influence they have on the happiness of the people, not only from the amount of the taxes, but from the manner in which they are levied, and from the necessity of revenue for the operations of government, they stand high among the objects of national concern. —A few individuals may still be lulled in dreams of peace, but the general inattention to the state of our finances, as well as to subjects of still higher importance, arises from that indolence which detests any care beyond that of the present moment, and that imbecillity which cannot look difficulties in the face. If it was not before it is certainly evident now, that unless some great change takes place in the state of Europe, we have no alternative but war or subjection: it seems incomprehensible that a man can be found so blind as not to see that war cannot be carried on much longer on our existing system of finance: was it a subject that required any depth of understanding to comprehend, such a delusion would afford less reason for surprize, but it is clear to every one, from his own private affairs, or to every clerk who can put figures together. Notwithstanding all their professions, it is not easy to conceive that our men in office think the Stock Exchange and tax bills are mines which can never be exhausted, or, that they regard them as more than temporary, almost momentary expedients, which will fall with the infatuation that supports them. These are not times for fairy palaces that vanish with the spell that created them; the castle must be built on a rock to resist the fury of the elements: without strength, perseverance and stability in every department of the state, we cannot expect safety, still less to acquire superiority. It is full time, indeed absolutely necessary, to look out for the means by which the nation can be effectually relieved from its burthens, with the least danger to the public and the least loss to their creditors. Conquerors supply the deficiency in their own treasury at the expense of the conquered: the Romans enacted heavy tributes; the revolutionary French quarter their armies, levy contributions, and demand subsidies from those whom they honour with the name of allies. Of domestic expedients, the most common has been to debase or diminish the coin; this, under another form, is in fact annihilating so much of the public debt, but it likewise introduces the same injustice into private dealings as it in the same proportion releases the private debtor at the expense of his creditor, and it has this farther disadvantage, that if the coin is restored to its former intrinsic value, which it has sometimes been, the public is but little benefitted in the end. But, however that device may have been viewed when money transactions were few and little understood, it is too stale a trick to impose upon the most ignorant in such an age as the present.—Whatever mode may be resorted to, the first thing is to take care that the free revenue shall be sufficient for the necessary expence of the war. Laying the question of justice or injustice aside, that primary object which must be kept in view, renders a partial annihilation of the debt impracticable, because, an end being put to loans, it would be impossible to find the funds for the service of the war, while a large part of the revenue was required to pay the remaining interest of the debt. To apply a spunge to the whole at once is so flagrant an act of injustice, and would involve so many fami-

lies in ruin, or something nearly approaching to ruin, that nothing but the most urgent state necessity, and no means of alleviation to be found, could vindicate it. It would, likewise, occasion a revulsion in all the commercial and monied transactions of the nation, and in some measure, though, perhaps not to a great amount, affect the revenue itself, by destroying the income of so numerous, and so wealthy, a part of the community.—There appears to me, however, to be one way, and only one way, in which the nation ever can be relieved of that load, without great injustice, and giving a shock to the monied interest, the commerce, the industry, and the revenue of the country, and that is, by devising means of converting the whole debt into paper saleable at market, like navy and exchequer bills. Few great discoveries have been made by reasoning alone; the consequences of government paper have, likewise, been discovered by chance; they were, I believe, first seen in America. Money being there scarce, taxes few and difficult to be levied, the American colonies had recourse to issuing a sort of treasury notes, for which hard money was not exigeable, till the state found it convenient to pay them. I think so early as the year 1750, the paper money of the New England colonies had been issued to so large an amount as to have depreciated thee or four hundred per cent. but their fears of France being then removed by the conquest of her colonies, they afterwards contributed very little to the general expense of the empire; and redeemed it so far as to bring it back to par. The paper of the American and French revolutions has long been a subject of redicule at the Exchange and Whitehall; nor has fatal experience yet taught the plodders of either to reflect that the independence of America was established against all the gold of England, and the revolution of France against all the powers of Europe, almost without a public revenue. Nay, I think I may venture to say, that that paper money was, in general, the most equal and the most equitable tax that ever was levied, for it passed so rapidly from hand to hand, that the depreciation was insensible to each possesser. Both in the American and French paper, there was, indeed, one act of injustice; having no other means of providing for the public expenditure, it was made a legal tender, which enabled many debtors to defraud their creditors, when it had much depreciated; but, except from thence, I know of no mischief that it occasioned, or that it affected the private affairs of the subject. Here the necessity of making it a legal tender does not exist, as the revenue, with economy, would be sufficient for the public service. No man, perhaps, can, with certainty, foresee the consequences of a money transaction to that amount, but I do not think that any one who has been well acquainted with the American or French paper, will have much doubt of its being practicable. The sum is great, but the immense traffic that there is still in the funds, shews that it is not too great for the money speculations of that country to embrace.—Several modes of carrying it into execution may, probably, occur to those who are conversant in money transactions; but there is one, and a very simple one, that I think would effect the purpose; an act of parliament to enable the ministry, if the national demands required it, to apply the whole revenue of the current year to the service of the state, and to postpone the payment of the interest of the national debt, granting certificates to the holders for the amount of that stock, with a claim for interest from the date. Such certificates, if granted for small sums, would very soon be in the market, at a discount, which, if the war continued, as if we remain an independent nation it must do for years, would constantly increase, till they would either become redeemable at a very cheap rate, or expire of themselves, like the American and French paper. I believe it has been the opinion of speculative politicians, that upon the first shock, public credit would fall and the whole fabric vanish at once; but there is nothing in experience that can lead to that conclusion; it is on the contrary, highly probably, that it would very slowly and gradually decline. The present holders of stock would suffer some loss, but I doubt if it would be so much as the profit they now expect to reap; for a great part of the stockholders are now speculators for gain. The rise of the funds at a peace has been such, that much money has been withdrawn from commerce, manufactures, and landed security; many estates have been sold, and many not bought, to raise money to be invested in the funds. The public, indeed, borrow upon usury, for sixty pounds that they receive in time of war, they have to repay more than seventy in time of peace. That those, who enter into such an adventure, should sustain a small loss, is no great injustice, as a Jew runs the risk of lending to needy prodigals: nor is it improbable, that a few individuals would lose the principal part of their stock; there will always be some too credulous or too avaricious, not to

grasp at recovering the whole, but I am inclined to think, that the number would be small, and that almost all the paper would soon be for sale.—Should the annals of these times survive the next deluge of barbarism, and be preserved for another age of civilization, they will furnish instruction in finance. America and France have shewn the vast resources that may be drawn from paper and credulity. The Americans stumbled upon it by chance; not themselves comprehending what they were doing, they fell into an error; to keep up the credit of their own paper, they funded a part of it, that has left a burthen which they are paying off by economy, and the dangerous expedient of having a very small national force. France, whose revenue was nearly mortgaged and dissipated by the revolution, supported an enormous expense for years, by the same means, and at last extinguished a large part of her former debt. It is evident, that if England had established, and rigidly applied, an efficient sinking-fund from the first of her debt, she might, notwithstanding her long and expensive wars, have had the greatest free revenue in Europe; beside, an immense additional capital, employed in the national industry. It now remains to be seen how she will get rid of a debt the greatest, I presume, that any nation ever contracted, and of which it is probable, almost certain, that she must be disburthened, or that the state must fall.——

CAMILLUS.

QUAKER'S LETTER.

FRIEND COBBETT,——Thee must know, that a youth of thy faith cast an eye of affection on my daughter Dorcas, and that she, forgetting her allegiance to our undefiled religion, consented to become his helpmate. Not that either Dorcas or I have had any cause of complaint against him, or, that I have had any other reason to regret it, except that he was educated in the vanities of this world. Their daughter Susannah has been the great soother of my declining years: as thou mayst well suppose, I have often wished to recal her to our pure faith, but when I begin to exhort her to abandon her follies, she smiles, and if thou hast grand daughters whom thou lovest, who smile in thy face when thou attemptest to chide them, thou wilt know that the spirit is weak. She has now so far set my authority at nought, that when she is not beguiling my time, she amuses herself even in my presence as the rest of the worldly minded. But a little while hath passed away since after she had with her prattle, stolen some of my hours from more serious reflections, I sat me down in my great chair to read thy observations on these sinful times, and she took a profane book, which I think she said was the history of a man of the name of Thomas Jones. While I wiped the assistants of mine eyes, that I might more distinctly perceive the characters in which thy meditations are clothed, I heard her reading in a low voice to her sister in the farther corner of the room, but nothing of what she uttered arrested my attention, till I heard the words, "and he was the terror of evil doers." I had been reading thy reproaches of the man whom James Paull and thee call Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley, and of the man whom thou callest General Delancey, when those sounds struck mine ears. I said unto Susannah does Thomas Jones speak of William Cobbett; the hussey laughed so irreverently that I questioned her no further on the subject. Now, whether thee be'est Thomas Jones's friend of whom he spoke or not, thee knowest best, but I was thence led into a train of reflection upon thy conduct, and, as I see, that though thee wincest a little under the admonitions that are sent thee, thee wisely dost not cast them from thee, I resolved after serious deliberation to fulfil my duty, and admonish thee of the error of the course which thee pursuest.—— Sinners are strayed sheep whom thee oughtest to lead back to the fold, but thee waxest wroth against them, and threshest them in thine anger: consider again thy own words, and say thyself if they are the words of brotherly love. If Richard Colley hath done evil in the east, thee shouldst have exhorted him privately to have returned unto the east, to repair the evil which he had done. Thee seest that when thee pouredst forth thine anger against friend Delancey, it produced no effect, but that when the brotherly admonition of the man whom thee callest Lord Grenville, was conveyed to him in private, he immediately yielded up the subject of thy indignation. "The wrathful man stirreth up strife," saith the wise man; thee stirreth up strife between the men whom thee callest Grenvilles, and the men whom thee callest Whigs. Thee reproachest the Grenvilles with not forgetting their own affairs, while they are taking care of thine; dost thee not know that the labourer is worthy of his hire; and that, if any thing more than hire is to give, charity beginneth at home; is not that the maxim of prudence, and didst thee ever know a man of the name who was not prudent? Thee sayest that thee hatest the Whigs, and why dost thee hate them, because they are not like unto thee,

wrathful and full of strife; but have as becometh them forbearance and long suffering. I fear too, friend Cobbett, that thee art one of the worldly minded; for, instead of exhorting those whom thee sayest are evil doers for the good of their souls, thee talkest of the misapplication of thy money; dost thee not know that when a man taketh thy coat, thee oughtest to give him thy cloak also: the heathen whom thee callest the Nabob of Oude, is by thy own confession, more of our true faith than thee art, for thee sayest that when Richard Colley took one half of his dominions from him, he gave him the other half also. Thee speakest irreverently of those who are set in authority over thee, because they will not employ carnal weapons against those whom thee sayest are evil doers; and, because they will not train the people to war, desolation, and bloodshed; thee knowest them not, they are the children of meekness and peace; when thou supposest that they are in consultation about thy bloody schemes, they are studying the precepts of our pure faith in the Apology of friend Barclay, who, though sorry I am to say, that his kinsman so far degenerated as to be seated in that worldly conventicle called the House of Commons, which thee hast so well laboured to prove a conventicle of sinners, is the champion of our true faith. The seest that they do not prepare war, nor wake up the mighty men: verily, there was something in the likeness of men of war, their raiment was of the colour of the woman of Babylon, their array was like unto the array of battle, and they held the weapons of death in their hands; their garments are changed, their array hath passed away. Arthur Young has piously proposed to arm the land with sticks and with prayers, and the time is near at hand, when our rulers like unto the rulers of other nations, will order us to put on the true armour of our faith, patience, and resignation. In their deliberations on the relief of the Blackamoors, I saw an expression in the dialect of the heathen, which as thee mayst well suppose, I do not understand, but which friend Joseph Sly, who has wasted some of his precious time on such vanities, told me was, "let what is right be done, if the heavens should tumble about our ears." Now, surely, even thee wilt allow, that it is not right to slay our fellow creatures, nor that the coming of the Gentiles can be so great an evil as the heavens tumbling about our ears; yet thee William Cobbett, thee, thee and some of thy bloody-minded correspondents are labouring to greet their arrival, by driving lead into their bodies, or thrusting iron into their bowels, and to prevent the universal reign of peace and union under one head, which they who are set in authority over us are preparing.—I had proceeded thus far, when friend Joseph entered my habitation. I shewed him the good work in which I was employed: he said, friend Obadiah thee art mistaken; our rulers have adopted one of the strongest powers of resistance in nature, the *vis inertiæ*; I see, too, that friend Cobbett searcheth for some pithy sentence with which to preface his lucubrations; I think I can often save him that trouble; when a new set of rulers come into power, according to the stile in which he talks of them, he may always prefix, "*in nova fert animus mutatas dicere mentes*;" and when he afterwards discusses their proceedings, he may change *mutatas* into *canoras*, and *mentes* into *nugas*. I asked friend Joseph, whether the *vis inertiæ* was made of timber, or the *mentes* and *nugas* were wooden horses, as friend Perceval had given thee a hint not to meddle with such things; he said he could not easily explain to me those words, but that friend Perceval had not so great an antipathy to those things now, as he had at that time. Friend Reuben Slack had followed friend Joseph, and as soon as he learned the subject of our conversation, he said, friend Obadiah, why dost thee trouble thyself about William Cobbett, every body knows that he has a crack in his upper apartments, he often writes what nobody understands, and often what he does not understand himself; and he brought unto me a book, an expounder of hard words, called a dictionary, in which he verily shewed me many words which thee often makest use of, such as Disinterestedness, Integrity, Independence, Public Spirit, &c. &c. which were marked obsolete, and were not now understood, and others that were explained, such as

Ability, i. e 1. To comprehend somewhat of the routine of public business. 2. To know how to keep in office.

Talents or genius, i. e. To have words ready for three or four hours without stopping, the more sonorous the better.

Manly, i. e. To make barefaced declarations respecting home affairs, or to use insulting expressions towards a foreign power when you know that you have a majority of your auditors on your side.

Vigorous, i. e. To make a blustering speech in either House of Parliament, but more particularly in the House of Commons. Eat a choice dinner and go to sleep.

Now, could any man whose skull is sound be perpetually hammering at such un-

intelligible jargon, or deny that we have ability, talents, manliness, and vigour, when it is clear that the nation overflows with them. Friend Joseph said, " friend Reuben, canst thee guess what William Cobbett will say. I think I can, it will be that thee measurest things by the Grenville Noömeter which he asserts, is not graduated higher than 32 degrees; he likewise says, that not one only, but most of our patrician families of this country have taken for their motto, *paterno robore tutus*, and has advised them to make a plebeian addition to it, and after *paterno* to place *et suo*.—I do not understand such things, friend Cobbett, but mayhap thee mayst; my exhortation to thee was intended to be purely spiritual, and I deliberated long before I would transcribe to thee, and it hath cost me much trouble to copy so many words that I do not understand, the judgment of the sons of men, which friend Joseph and friend Reuben have an opportunity of learning, by mixing more among the profane than I do; but, after due meditation, I thought that thee oughtest to know the opinion of the children of this world, as it sometimes has more weight with such as thee than that of the children of light.—If I should see that this admonition shall have a proper effect upon thee, I shall perhaps trace an exhortation upon paper to Susanna, to endeavour to recal her to the right path.—— OBADIAH SIMPLE.——*Mincing Lane, 1st Month, 10th day.*

FUNDED PROPERTY.

SIR,—Though an humble admirer and a reader of your lucubrations, long before the establishment of the Political Register, yet I feel my pen very inadequate to trespass on your liberality, by attempting to occupy a single line in the Register. But being of that class of persons whose little all is vested in the Funds, it would be highly gratifying, would you permit me to express the extreme uneasiness that *many*, as well as I feel, at your animadversions on that *species* of *property*; for till you had better informed me, I had flattered myself with a belief my children would not be paupers after my decease; but I entreat you will council me further on this subject, for I literally delineate my situation. My little all, as I said before, was vested in the 3 per Cents stock, on my marriage, in the names of *Trustees*, for the benefit of my children, nor will *they* suffer me to remove it. The stock, when purchased, was 92 ½, and is now about 61, so that a third of the capital sum is actually lost already. But, assuredly, Mr. Cobbett, the finances of this yet happy country are not so palsied, as to induce any Minister to have recourse to a national bankruptcy. I would rather hope, that a ministry may be formed who shall pursue the line of œconomy you demonstrate, and by curtailing pensions and sinecures, and retrenching exorbitant profusion in the various departments of the state, enable us confidently to say, we will not have the laws of England changed. The Grenville family have been pointed out in the Register, as receiving £55,000 from the public purse—in addition I say, place the Board of Ordnance under the controul of the Commander in Chief, and the public service will be benefited, and many hundreds of thousands will be annually saved. I desire it to be understood, as not reflecting in any degree on the Master-General of the Ordnance (who is one of the most honorable men in his profession), or any other officer in that department, but I wish to see them, in the strictest sense of the word, made a part of the army; at present they have interests differing from the line, without advantage to the service, and greatly detrimental to the public purse; for I contend that the *poultry yard* of every Officer of the Ordnance, civil or military, (particularly the Royal Engineers), all over the united kingdom—and the islands and colonies thereunto belonging, costs the public more than does the barrack accommodation of any Field Officer of the line, in any part of his Majesty's extended dominions.—Why such distinctions should exist, under the same master, it is difficult to ascertain, but it is evident, that a Master-General of the Ordnance should not be a member of the cabinet, nor should any person, however dignified in character, have the means of purchasing his popularity at the expense of the public purse. Mr. Pitt was allowed to be the most profuse man that England ever saw, for it was he who inundated the country with Brigadier-Generals and Inspectors of Volunteers, an expense the country has happily got rid of, but the Staff of the Royal Engineers, which, I will venture to say, is a still more useless expense, *has been increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.*—I am,

PHILO-REGISTER.

London, 8th November, 1806.

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT CRISIS.

SIR,—Amidst the eventful occurrences which astonish and confound the human faculties, which baffle the most sagacious conjecture, and whose stupendou reality even outstrip the fictions of romances, a reflecting mind is involuntarily led to inquire into the causes of these extraordinary events.

The first question which obtrudes itself is, by what means the subjugation of Europe has been accomplished in a manner so effectually prompt and decisive?—To superficial observers, who reason from prejudice, it may appear that French troops excel their opponents in number, bravery, or discipline. This seems not to be the case, at least if we may credit the Fsench accounts, and also the accounts said to be given by a Russian officer of the battle of Austerlitz, where each agree that the advantage of numbers was rather on the side of the Allies. The same thing likewise holds good respecting Prussia at the commencement of the present disastrous campaign; for, previous to the fatal battle of Auerstadt, our ears were incessantly dinned by the silly vauntings of the superlative appointment, discipline, and bravery of the Prussian troops, who were represented as burning with impatient ardour to avenge the cause of their beloved sovereign, and chastise the aggression of usurping tyranny.—Admitting this to be the case, how are we to account for the afflicting result? First; by the wary and provident policy of Buonaparté, who makes talents the criterion of confidence, who wisely adapts his means to his ends, and by providing against reverses, never trusts to the chapter of accidents, but, unbiassed by prejudice, calculates on contingencies; and, in spite of opposition, ensures success. Moreover, he attaches to his person the affection of the people; he inspires them with enthusiasm and they are devoted to his cause: while, on the contrary, the rigorous repulsive system of his adversaries disgust the feelings and alienate the affections of their subjects. What constitutes the vital essence of a true patriot is to them unknown; having no interest in the prosperity of their country, they view with indifference a change of masters, or rather, they consider any change as a chance of amendment;—hence an inert apathy paralyses their efforts, their devotion is listless, and their energies supine.—Thus circumstanced, need we wonder at the feeble resistance which the French army has experienced; they certainly are not better soldiers or braver men than the Austrians or Prussians, yet they are victorious, and the reason is obvious, because, however hateful the French system may appear to English eyes, yet it is the acme of perfection in comparison with other systems.—These are facts which I defy the most venal to disprove, and my fervent wish is, that they may merit consideration from those who revel on the spoils of their country, and who have the shameless effrontery to require from industry the sacrifice of the common necessaries of life, to support their profligate unprincipled extravagance.—May they be duly impressed by passing events, and take timely example from the woeful experience of others.—The higher orders, in all countries, have every thing to dread from a revolution, their all being at stake; whereas the labouring multitude have little to fear from any change: as society cannot long exist in any shape without labour, therefore they have within themselves a never failing resource, which, even tumult and anarchy can neither annihilate or dispense with, while, on the contrary, the wealthy and voluptuous are enervated by luxury, and rendered incapable of useful exertion, their existence becomes miserable to themselves and obnoxious to society. To dilate on this subject would be an insult to plain reason, as the present forlorn condition of those unfortunate exiles who have found an asylum on our shores stands not in need of further illustration. — Indeed, the history of the world proves that mankind are influenced by their feelings; that they are not insensible of injuries, or ungrateful for benefits, and, however powerful the love of conntry may operate in the human breast, yet this noble principle may be extinguished by continued oppression on the part of those who rule.—It is evident that degeneracy and infatuation have accelerated the ruin of those nations where corruption or injustice prevail; therefore, in such cases, it is absurd to expect that the efforts of the people will be either vigorous or successful in their country's defence. Look at the state of our fertile and populous possessions in India; contemplate the imbecillity of Turkey and Spain; view the wretched degraded Portuguese, who exist by sufferance, and who, at this hour, could not repel an army of 10,000 determined invaders.—With these awful examples before us, when the virtue, talents, and energies of the people are peculiarly requisite to support the state, it especially behoves those who have so loudly exclaimed against existing abuses, to evince a disposition for a practical remedy, and unless there are speedy indications to accomplish this desirable end, it is useless to expect a zealous co-operation on the part of the people. I do not mean to insinuate that the people of England are destitute of patriotism, far otherwise; I mean simply to declare, that the public confidence in the present administration is languid and low; because their actions do not accord with their former professions, and whatever parasitical sycophants may say on this subject, the reflecting part of the community are disgusted with the low de-

I sive mummery so long and so artfully practised; they are not to be duped by specious pretences or florid harrangues; they are too well convinced of the fallacious display of our boasted prosperity; the onerous operation of fiscal exactions speak in a language too intelligible to be misunderstood; they feel the grievous weight of the oppressive and inquisitorial income tax; scarcely a week throughout the year are our houses exempt from the intruding visits of parochial or parliamentary collectors; sesses and taxes in some shape or other, are almost daily extorted from us, and yet with all this we are called upon to make farther sacrfices even to the privation of common necessaries.—How long this state of things is to continue, I pretend not to determine; one thing I will venture to aver, namely, that there is not a rational person in existence who entertains a doubt of our approximating dissolution if the present ruinous system is blindly and wilfully continued.—Without adverting to distant nations or times of yore, I earnestly beseech the attention of my countrymen to passing events; it is not an unreasonable request, and on this condition alone I claim your indulgence.—It is universally agreed, that our situation is perilous, and that we have a formidable enemy to contend with, but the modes of resistance are hitherto uncertain or undefined; various projects are broached yet nothing final adopted: but whatever may be the determination, "*it is the hearts of the citizens* which constitute the principal source of energy to the state."* and this alone must be our rallying point in the hour of danger. Bayonets may bristle like rushes on the river's brink, but unless the hearts of those who wield them are in unison with the cause for which they contend; unless there is some object to stimulate exertion and encourage their hopes, it is useless to expect a favourable issue.—Although I believe every human being has a strong predilection implanted by nature in favour of his native land; yet, the mere accident of birth on this, or on that spot of the creation, when divested of those blessings which form the ineffable endearments of social life, will not stimulate them to make efficient sacrifices in defence of their country. It is the reciprocity of interests in all classes; a self-evident demonstration of mutual advantages, which form the amiable connection of the social tie, and generates in the soul of man the glowing fervour of *amor patriæ*.—The Spaniard, and Hindoo, and Algerine, are, by birth, the peculiar sons of their respective soils as much as we are; but as they are destitute of those privileges which dignify human nature, and are debarred the natural enjoyment of common rights; it is a matter of indifference to them who rules, or who represents them. Wretched, indeed, is that country, where the numbing gripe of power hath rendered the condition of the multitude disconsolate and forlorn; where every ray of amelioration is extinguished, and every avenue to redress is closed: change alone, in such circumstances, affords the only ground of hope. Misery will leave no means untried to alleviate its poignancy; and misery invariably produces the same result, whether in the slave that tugs at the oar, or the squalid shade that pines in a garret.—Placemen and their adherents who wish to suppress facts, gravely ask, "what can we do at this juncture?" My answer is simple: correct abuses, reform your representation, retrench your expenses, practice economy, and thereby lessen the oppressive weight of taxes.—These objects call aloud for immediate adoption; the remedy is safe, your means are ample, if you have sufficient honesty for their timely application; shew the people the sincerity of your motives, and they will cheerfully second your views; give them an interest in your proceedings, and they will not make an ungrateful return; let your own example prove, that the prosperity of your native land is the dearest object of your care, and that you will be the first to risk your existence and property in the common cause. This is a duty you owe to the public; the public expect it; the times exact it, for a crisis is fast approaching: the fate of Britain, at this moment, depends on reform, peace, and economy.—Yours, &c.

Dec. 14, 1806. CAMBRICUS.

* Mr. Burke.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

AMERICAN STATES ——*President's Message, delivered to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the Session, at the City of Washington, on the 2d of Dec.* 1806.—*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.*

It would have given me, fellow-citizens, great satisfaction to announce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of our last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions, as, in the event of failure, could

leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance. The delays which have since taken place in our negociations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled to lay before you their final issue. What will be that of the negociations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which has taken place, at the date of the last dispatches, enables us to pronounce. On the Western side of the Mississippi, she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayon Pierre, on the Red River. This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana. Being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed at the moment of re-delivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men, which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, having been lately made by our commander in chief to assume the Sabine River as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negociations shall be known, this had been referred by the Spanish Commandant to his superior, and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the Western side of the Sabine River. The correspondence on this subject, now communicated, will exhibit, more particularly, the present state of things in that quarter.—The nature of that country requires indispensibly that an unusual proportion of the force employed there should be cavalry, or mounted infantry. In order, therefore, that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had authorised him to call on the Governors of Orleans and Mississippi, for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangements he has proposed, may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you, with great pleasure, of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow citizens in every part of the union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously, under all circumstances which may occur. Having received information, that in another part of the United States, a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organising themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprise, for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it, and for arresting and bringing to justice, the authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to be the rule of action in public, as well as in private transactions; it was due to good order, and regular government, that while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals, to decide for their country the question of peace or war, by commencing active and unauthorised hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed. Whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force, will depend on the result of our negociations with Spain. But as it is uncertain when that result will be known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening to that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration. The possession of both banks of the Mississippi, reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide for that point a more adequate security. Some position above its mouth, commanding the passage of the river, should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence; and, in conjunction with them, to present an insuperable obstacle to any force attempting to pass. The approaches to the city of New Orleans, from the eastern quarter also, will require to be examined, and more effectually guarded. For the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the Mississippi, within reach of New Orleans, will be worthy the consideration of the legislature. The gun boats, authorised by an act of the last session, are so advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a much larger number will still be wanting to place our sea port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation, for a further provision of them is recommended for the ensuing year. A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our sea port towns, or their remaining before them. In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people,

directly expressed by their free suffrages, where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislature, are renewed by them at short periods, where, under the character of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest portion of the judiciary powers, where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not suppose that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection or enterprize, on the public peace or authority. The laws, however, aware that these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have wisely provided punishments for these crimes, when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprize is meditated by private individuals against a foreign nation, in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws. Would they not be as reasonable and useful, where the enterprize preparing is against the United States? While adverting to this branch of law, it is proper to observe, that in enterprizes meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the jurisdiction of the United States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight every indication of his purpose which could draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.—The states on the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed at present to respect peace and friendship. With Tunis alone some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement to the Mediterranean, unless previous information shall shew it to be unnecessary.—We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere concern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge these high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward of their peace and friendship.——The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean; ascertained with accuracy the geography of that interesting communication across our Continent; learned the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants: and it is but justice to say, that Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have, by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.——The attempt to explore the Red River, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful. After proceeding up it about six hundred miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended, while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to return, without completing their work.—— Very useful additions have also been made to our knowledge of the Mississippi, by Lieut. Pike, who has ascended it to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both Houses of Congress. Those of Messrs. Lowis, Clarke, and Freeman, will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important surveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Mississippi and its western waters. Some principal rivers, however, remain still to be explored, towards which the authorisation of Congress, by moderate appropriations will be requisite —I congratulate you fellow citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the Citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights, which have been so long since continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, the expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.—The receipts of the Treasury, during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have amounted to near fifteen millions of dollars; which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana; to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest; and in addition, to reimburse, in the course of the

present month, near two millions of five and a half per cent. stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded debt, with those which had been made in the four years and a half preceding, will at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of twenty three millions of principal.——The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering, however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise, is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time; after which, that also will become unnecessary for any purpose now within contemplation. —When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, 'ere long be an accumulation of monies in the treasury, beyond the instalment of public debt, which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot, then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and the complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects. Nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other object shall these surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during these intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them? Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations new channels of communication will be opened between the states; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties. Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal: but a public institution can alone supply those sciences, which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation. The subject is now proposed for the consideration of Congress, because, if approved, by the time the state of legislatures shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall have passed, and other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, and without employment. I suppose an amendment of the constitution, by consent of the states, necessary: because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public monies to be applied.—The present consideration of a national establishment for education, particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if Congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements, by requiring for its own purposes, the resources destined for them.— This, fellow citizens, is the state of the public interests at the present moment, and according to the information now possessed. But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such, too, the predicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely, with certainty on the present aspect of our affairs, that they may change from moment to moment, during the course of your session, or after you shall have separated. Our duty is, therefore, to act upon the things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever they may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace in preparations for the defence of our sea port towns and waters, an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of the country, a militia so organized, that its effective portions can be called to any point in the Union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying upon our resources, until actually called into use.

They will maintain the public interests while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements, in its outset, will go far towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burdens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.—The result of our negociations, or such incidents in their course, as may enable us to infer their probable issue; such further movements also on our western frontier, as may shew whether war is to be pressed there, while negociation is protracted elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me; with whatever other information I possess, or may receive, which may aid your deliberations on the great national interests committed to your charge.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN TREATY.——*Letter transmitted from Lord Howick to Philip Sansom, Esq. Chairman of the Committee of American Merchants, and by him sent to Lloyd's, and the American Coffee-houses; dated Downing-street, Jan.* 1, 1807.

SIR;—I have the honour of acquainting you, for the information of the merchants concerned in the trade with America, that the treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce, between his Majesty and the United States, was yesterday signed by the commissioners respectively appointed for the purpose by the two governments. The treaty will be immediately transmitted to America; but, until the ratifications on both sides shall have been exchanged, it cannot be made public.——I have the honour to be, &c.—HOWICK.

NEUTRAL NATIONS.——*Order of Council relative to the Commerce of Neutral Nations, with the Ports of France.*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 7th of January, 1807; Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council:——Whereas the French government has issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his Majesty's dominions; and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country, in any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions; and whereas the said governments has also taken upon itself to declare all his Majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports, by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy; and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to his Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant his Majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his Majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of his Majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy, with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous; and whereas his Majesty, though unwilling to follow the examples of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound, by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps, on his part, to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice; his Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in the possession of, France or her allies, or shall be so far under their controul, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat; and the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be, and are hereby instructed, to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his Majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize. And his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and the judges of the High Court of Admiralty, and Courts of Vice-Admiralty are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Brydges Stree, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.